THE TIMES

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THE TIMES

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New light on a Dark Lady

A. L. ROWSE :

Shakespeare The Man

284pp. Macmillan. £4.95.

...THE WELCOME for A. L. Rowse's first biography of Shakespeare ... memory is yet green. The ... articles in *The Times* ... answers to perennial ... posed by the Sonnets, the ... exchanges that followed in ... correspondence columns (had he ... come up with the final solu... the publication of the book ... eve of the quatercentenual ...sions, the blasts from re... and counter-blasts from ...thor—can all this have taken a full decade ago ? To be sure ... has himself occasionally ... the embers of debate by for... *The Times* ; for a while he contemplated writing a book ... the reception of his book. Now ... chosen instead to favour the ... with another life of the Bard. ... in *Casablanca*, Dr Rowse ... it again, and if his tune ... quite so beguiling as Bogey's ... thanks to its haunting Dark ...theme, already set the Shake... world humming.

...biography is like the previous ... and also different. Inevitably ...thor follows in his own foot... Once again we perambulate ...ard. The story of the Sonnets, ... fourteen-line rhymed instal... in an intimate autobiography, ... a twice-told tale. Phrases ...peated, paragraphs lightly ... Surely the procedure is per... understandable and appro... previous biographers of ...speare have followed the same ... and anyway most readers ... have the 1963 *Shakespeare* ... their belt. Tone and substance ... that Dr Rowse is this time ...casting his net to capture an ...more popular kind of reader... than that for which his earlier ... biography catered. Fair ... he has the touch, and the ... tradition is an honour... —but it is at least debatable ... a work addressed to an ... uncritical readership is ... suitable vehicle for a new ...troversial thesis. That thesis ... Emilia Lanier, née Bassano.

...Rowse found her in the Bod... Library, in Simon Forman's ...books, where for centuries her ...tations had lain covered by ... dust of oblivion. A con... ...ary of Shakespeare, Forman ... astrologer, physician, and ... all of which occupations ...ed considerable success. If ... in his quest for the philo... stone, he did correctly pre... date of his own demise— ... sceptics have unworthily ... that he cheated by com... suicide. Scholars have long ... of this curious individual by ... his *Book of Plays*, in which ... eyewitness accounts of per... of *Macbeth*, *The Winter's* ... *Cymbeline*. In 1844 J. O. ... (later Halliwell-Phillipps) ... in a limited edition for ... circulation) *The Autobio*... *and Personal Diary of Dr Forman*. This volume, which ... does not mention, is slight ... to come by, and suffers ...torian inhibitions respecting ... which is Forman's code ... sexual intercourse. For be... ...ently the first to tackle ... of Forman papers Dr ... has earned our admiration ; ... of those scholarly inspira... ... appear perfectly obvious ... fact. In Forman, for Dr ... the dark mistress of the Son... becomes visible.

... benefit of readers—there must be some—who missed the hoopla in the media, the facts about Emilia Lanier are quickly summarized. She was the daughter of a court musician, Baptist Bassano. Orphaned by the time she was seventeen, she became (according to Forman) the mistress of the elderly Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon. As Lord Chamberlain he supported the players in their running battle with the municipal authorities, and was himself the patron of an acting troupe ; in 1594 he became briefly the patron of the new Chamberlain's company. Finding herself pregnant, Emilia made a marriage of convenience with William Lanier, a minstrel. They did not get on well together. When Emilia in 1593 visited Forman to have her horoscope cast, she told him that noblemen had made much of her ; Forman, expert in such matters, concluded that this dark beauty (for he describes her as "very brown in youth") would "for lucre's sake . . . be a good fellow". Later he enjoyed halek with her, and after one or two mentions more "this deleterious woman" (in Dr Rowse's phrase) disappears from the case books. Was she the seductress who led the poet his last—or was it his last ?—tango in London ?

Dr Rowse notes that her husband's christian name lends itself admirably to word-play, and that Sonnet 135 begins :

> Whoever hath her wish, thou hast thy Will,
> And Will to boot, and Will in over-plus.

But of course Shakespeare's name too was Will, *will* means desire, and also (as Dr Rowse helpfully points out) the sexual organs. So the word in context has three significances without a contribution from Will Lanier. A quadruple pun would be neat, but a treble serves for the nonce. Emilia's dates fit in snugly with Dr Rowse's assignment for the Sonnets, but that assignment, notwithstanding his protestations to the contrary, remains conjectural ; in such matters, as the Variorum editor ruefully conceded three decades ago, the quest for certainty is an idle dream. Emilia was musical, and so was the Dark Lady. Dr Rowse observes that a character in *Othello* who takes a light view of adultery is called Emilia. That is about it. It has been hinted in the press that Dr Rowse holds in reserve additional evidence sufficient to club his critics into submission, but, if so, he is still keeping it to himself.

So we are left with a musical woman, dark-complexioned, married, promiscuous, and in the 1590s still young. There may have been other such, even in Forman's limited circle, for he had no trouble finding partners for halek ; on January 15, 1601, the athletic astrologer enjoyed one mistress at 9 a.m. and another at noon. Neither was Emilia. Most crucial, no record of any sort links her name with Shakespeare. It is not clear to what extent the mistress of the Sonnets represents a real individual. The imperatives of art no less than the circumstances of nature, dictate her complexion. Her darkness is emblematic of character, and furnishes the antithesis, moral as well as pigmental, to the Fair Youth. The polarities are summed up in Sonnet 144:

> Two loves I have, of comfort and despair,
> Which like two spirits do suggest me still ;
> The better angel is a man right fair,
> The worser spirit a woman colour'd ill. . . .

The aesthetic design of the cycle must give pause to the biographer, searching for clues to personal identity.

Dr Rowse professes scorn for "absurd conjectures and guesses *in vacuo*", and extols certainty, rigour, and method. These are no doubt virtues, but they here assume a talismanic potency, as though their invocation by itself constituted rigorous method. This is mystical scholarship. In effect we are being invited to accept on faith the authority of, in Dr Rowse's words, "the foremost historian of the society of Shakespeare's Age". But no authority, however eminent, holds the laws of evidence at his commandment. Dr Rowse has said that, for this period, we cannot expect to find corroborative letters and the like ; we must content ourselves with a chain of plausible circumstance. It is no doubt true that documentary records are often scant, but this frustrating state of affairs does not entitle us to settle for less than adequate proof. It means, rather, that fewer things can get proved. In his preface Dr Rowse claims that his critics will find it "quite impossible to impugn" his findings. The burden, however, rests not with the critics, but with the historian. It is a pity that Dr Rowse should regard speculation in much the same way as nature esteems the vacuum, for there is a place in scholarship for conjecture, and he has come up with rather an intriguing one. Other investigators—or perhaps even Dr Rowse himself—may one day prove it right or wrong. If he is right, the world will applaud his intuition and tenacity, while not necessarily attaching to the discovery the immense significance claimed for it. Meanwhile one suspects one hasn't heard the last of Emilia.

She is only one ingredient in a book which makes for a better read than its predecessor. For one thing it is only a little more than half as long. To achieve his drastic economies Dr Rowse has had to suppress ruthlessly his urge to expatiate on topics that interest him, and evidence of the struggle surface in such poignant formulas as, "We must resist the temptation to go into this appealing play. . .". Mainly he has sacrificed critical commentary ; a wise decision, for his genius does not lie that way. As he confessed himself in *The English Spirit*, "Heaven forfend that I should be a critic". What remains of literary interpretation even novices may find excessively elementary : "The subject of *Othello*, innocent love injured and destroyed, inspired Shakespeare to one of his highest flights of imagination and poetry"; or : "His [Shakespeare's] knowledge of human beings, of the human condition, has never been surpassed." True. So uninformed are readers presumed to be that they must be told that the *Henry IV* plays come after *Richard II* and before *Henry V*, and that the whole lot make up a sequence. Dr Rowse does better when he sticks to dates and sources. Style, robust without elegance, befits content. The author does not

disdain cliché or such colloquialisms as "family-wise" or "fell for". He keeps footnotes to a minimum out of regard for the reader's comfort, but why such frugality should make for greater rather than less convenience is not clear: even the non-scholarly enthusiast may occasionally wish to follow up a point. The practical result is that authorities quoted and documented in the 1963 life—Eccles or Fripp or Spurgeon—here go paraphrased without acknowledgement. If this be an improvement, it is one that the fastidious will disrelish.

Dr Rowse is now keen to see Shakespeare as a writer whose primary allegiance was to the theatre. Thus we have such chapter headings as "The Player Becomes Playwright" or "At the Globe" or "The King's Men". The strategy is unexceptionable, but Dr Rowse is no stage historian, and what he has to say comes at second hand and tends to be superficial. A couple of sentences do to sum up the characteristics of the Elizabethan playhouse, with the vexed question of the existence or non-existence of an inner stage bypassed in a phrase. Mostly, Dr Rowse depends on G. E. Bentley—a good choice, surely, but it is a pity that the latter's *Profession of Dramatist in Shakespeare's Time* appeared too late for the biographer to draw upon it. Still the new bias is salutary.

Here and there the author has changed his mind or taken advantage of later work. In 1963 Dr Rowse thought Shakespeare no intellectual; now he is prepared to concede that the creator of *Hamlet* and *Troilus and Cressida* had egghead proclivities. We are also told that he was equipped with a "sexy nose", no doubt an appropriate appendage for the "sexiest writer in the language". Dr Rowse has written more extensively on this stimulating topic in *The Times*, but it remains unclear how the sexiness of writers may be quantitatively ascertained. He takes into account K. B. McFarlane on the riotous youth of Henry V. He has however unaccountably missed Hugh Hanley's important article in the *TLS* (May 21, 1964) with its revelations, from the Sackville manuscripts, about Susanna Shakespeare and Thomas Quiney. These records show that Shakespeare's elder daughter was in May 1606 cited for failing to receive the sacrament the preceding Easter, and that the poet's son-in-law in March 1616, shortly after his marriage to Judith Shakespeare, confessed having had carnal intercourse with one Margaret Wheeler, who died that month in childbirth. These facts, which are not without interesting implications for the biographer, have provided matter for E. R. C. Brinkworth's recent book, *Shakespeare and the Bawdy Court of Stratford*. In another quarter, Warren Austin has lately sought to demonstrate, through computer-assembled data, that Robert Greene's notorious death-bed slander of Shakespeare was in fact composed by the same Chettle who afterwards apologized for it. This challenge to biographical orthodoxy may not convert the sceptical, but Professor Austin presents his thesis responsibly enough for the biographer to have to reckon with it. Dr Rowse does not reckon with it.

A distinguished historian becomes a public figure in his own right, so the present book has a Rowsean as well as Shakespearean interest. The author's mood, exuberant as regards his subject, otherwise waxes melancholy. "Shakespeare scholarship has reached a dead end", he proclaims. (Is he so readily dismissing the new direction given to imagistic criticism by R. A. Foakes and Maurice Charney? Or the contributions to knowledge of Shakespeare's text we owe to Charlton Hinman and Fredson Bowers? Probably not—he is thinking of biography, which has indeed grown moribund of late. But surely it is careless to equate the part with the whole.) The golden age, represented by the England of Elizabeth, is past, and worse and worse days have succeeded the former. Our speech is "etiolated", "half-baked intellectuals" control the mass media, dons suck up to press-lords and television, honey comes home diluted in a jar. It is a democratic illusion—specifically the illusion of "superficial liberal intellectuals"—that they may be trusted to govern themselves well. Dr Rowse's outburst against the common man has its unintended irony, coming as it does in a book which will exercise its greatest appeal to [illegible] readers.

At the end what chiefly [illegible] us is the powerful [illegible] author's personality. We [illegible] admire the unflagging energy [illegible] during the past two years [illegible] us two sweeping volumes [illegible] and cultural history, an [illegible] account of the Tower of [illegible] book of poems, and the [illegible] graphy, and which promises [illegible] of Forman next year. No [illegible] Rowse detects symptoms [illegible] tion in the Shakespeare [illegible] ment. With his energy, [illegible] flair, he has certainly [illegible] scholarly scene. Who else [illegible] made a conjecture about [illegible] Lady matter for feature [illegible] newspapers throughout the [illegible] In this respect Dr Rowse [illegible] mind us of the brilliant [illegible] versial young American [illegible] pert who turned a sedentary [illegible] tition, the preserve of a [illegible] on its heels, and attracted [illegible] from the four corners of [illegible] to an obscure hall in Re[illegible] of course Bobby Fischer [illegible] the Russian grandmaster [illegible] Dr Rowse has declared [illegible] without checkmate.

The poet in the theatre

GEOFFREY BULLOUGH (Editor):

Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare

Volume VII. Major Tragedies: *Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth.*

553pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £5.50.

The latest instalment of Geoffrey Bullough's serialized "narrative and dramatic sources of Shakespeare" demonstrates even more effectively than its predecessors the virtues of this comprehensive survey. The great tragedies have been more meticulously explored than any other dramas in the First Folio and we could hardly have hoped to find the anthology of basic texts so enriched by dozens of suggestive analogues and "possible" sources, some of them discoveries of the editor himself and printed here for the first time.

Professor Bullough modestly permits his name to appear on the title-page as "editor", but his own long and perceptive commentaries make the volume much more than a collection of texts, emphasizing the purpose stated in the preface to the first volume of the series. There, Professor Bullough drew attention to the tendency of modern scholars to become "preoccupied with Shakespeare's text and Shakespeare's poetry sometimes to the exclusion, or denigration, of character and plot", and he had stressed that his own work

> was begun in the conviction that Shakespeare was essentially a poet *in the theatre*, that his imagination worked best when stimulated by a tale or a situation involving a conflict between human beings, and that a full appreciation must relate his imagery, rhythm and ideas to the dramatic handling of the stories and personages as he re-made them.

He here calls our attention to two things—first, that several large well-known areas of Shakespearian investigation have still much of value to offer to modern explorers, and second, that some other more recently-discovered areas are hardly worth exploring. In the present anxious search for originality scholars are being advised to apply to the study of Shakespeare such novel and often unproductive methods as psycholinguistics, sociometry, structuralism, semiotics and semantic differentials. Into such arid procedures Professor Bullough's volume comes like a breath of fresh air.

Although many may regard this field of study as exhausted, Professor Bullough is not of that opinion. Typical of his attitude throughout is his final comment on *Hamlet*. Having taken account of its "richness in incidents" and its "variety of extraneous matter", he concludes:

> To account for all this material in dramatic terms, to explain how it seems to occur quite naturally (despite anachronisms) and to fall into a satisfying pattern with the major interest is a task which critical enquiry has not yet fully achieved. I can merely suggest an approach in the light of the foregoing account of the manifold ingredients of the plot.

In view of this, Professor Bullough might concede that even his own painstaking scrutiny, rich in discovery as it is, may not have caught all of these "manifold ingredients". In this volume, for example, there are a few, but only a few, references back to Shakespeare's earlier plays, but perhaps still more can be gleaned from a minute and detailed examination of the dramatist's conscious or unconscious use of what might be called his own source-material—the impress upon his imagination of characters and situations previously presented in his own writings. A single instance will make this clear.

In two plays Shakespeare chose Venice as a setting: *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*. Between these two there is a peculiar relationship, as though situations in *The Merchant* were vaguely, insensibly, present in the author's mind as he created *Othello*. The former introduces a Moroccan prince whose high-flown speech bears more than a slight similarity to Othello's style, and in both plays a daughter elopes. Most people if suddenly asked to locate the line "Look to your house, your daughter and your bags", in all probability would answer "*The Merchant of Venice*"—and indeed the injunction seems more appropriate to the comedy situation than to the tragic, to fit circumstances involving a light-hearted and light-fingered Lorenzo rather than those in which the principal actor is a distinguished middle-aged officer high in the command of the Venetian military forces.

On this Professor Bullough has nothing to say, yet if he had considered it he might have modified his own image of the hero and might have been prepared to recognize a peculiar ambiguity as well as an enigmatic quality in Shakespeare's treatment of Othello. In his introduction to the tragedy he certainly takes note of the fact that the phrases "Barbary horse" and "erring Barbarian" concur in identifying Desdemona's lover with the "tawny Moors" of Barbary; yet strangely and with unaccustomed inconsistency this observation is accompanied by a categorical assertion that Othello was conceived as a negro, chiefly because he refers to himself as black. Such an argument would mean that those who strive to identify the "black" mistress of the sonnets must limit their search to the negresses then resident in England.

If we leave out of account the single passing reference by Roderigo to "the thicklips", the[illegible] in fact, to be no valid [illegible] against our believing that [illegible] speare saw Othello as a [illegible] unlike the Moorish ambassador [illegible] visited London in 1600 and [illegible] portrait was painted on [illegible] sion. Professor Bullough [illegible] this canvas summarily, [illegible] as showing the ambassador [illegible] sly, hawk-faced "—but [illegible] say that the unknown [illegible] picted a robed "Barbarian" [illegible] while assuredly grave, he [illegible] dignified presence and who [illegible] a slight suggestion of [illegible] looks out at us with [illegible] eminently proper for a [illegible] officer of high rank?

This illustration seems [illegible] that, even after the [illegible] Shakespeare's sources have [illegible] penetratingly surveyed, it [illegible] repay further scrutiny—[illegible] indeed what Professor [illegible] directly advocates. His [illegible] which to date runs to seven [illegible] and will demand an eighth [illegible] reaches completion, has [illegible] been planned in order to [illegible] but throughout the Introduction [illegible] is evident that the editor [illegible] mind something more [illegible] than this: he constantly [illegible] his readers to think for [illegible]

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

[illegible] quarterly against isolationism

[illegible] FISH ARMSTRONG [illegible]:

[illegible] Years of Foreign Affairs

[illegible] Pall Mall. £5.25.

[illegible] the first issue of the American [illegible], *Foreign Affairs*, came out [illegible] September, 1922, the United [illegible] under President Harding had [illegible] treated into isolationism. It [illegible] be remembered that isola[illegible] represented a retreat, not [illegible] established stance. Despite [illegible] Washington's valedictory [illegible] against "the insidious wiles [illegible] influence" and his in[illegible] to have "as little political [illegible] as possible" with foreign [illegible], the American people had [illegible] slow to learn that commer[illegible] alone could not be [illegible] without diplomatic and strategic implications. The [illegible] States Navy had a squadron [illegible] Mediterranean in the early [illegible] and became a power in the [illegible] in the 1850s. American im[illegible] began at least a decade be[illegible] the arch-imperialist Theodore [illegible]. Only the fiasco of Wood[illegible] Wilson's defeat in his interna[illegible] aspirations by Congress [illegible] the mercurial Americans to [illegible] what had been called their [illegible] destiny". It was at this [illegible] that the quarterly with which [illegible] Fish Armstrong has been [illegible] for fifty years first emer[illegible] the scene.

[illegible] *Foreign Affairs* was one [illegible] influences which helped to [illegible] American opinion back to [illegible]alism. The Second World [illegible] naturally a more dramatic [illegible] to the process; and to[illegible] is a real danger that the [illegible] War may undo the good [illegible] To combat a revival of isola[illegible] will be primarily a task for [illegible] and congressmen, who [illegible] very different breed from [illegible] fifty years ago. Within its [illegible] which are essentially those of [illegible] publication, *Foreign* [illegible] will also exercise an influ[illegible]. If it continues to have edi[illegible] control of the same quality as [illegible] first half-century, the pros[illegible] not bleak. As Mr Armstrong's [illegible] of thirty articles from its [illegible] clearly demonstrates, his edi[illegible] has been distinguished by [illegible] markable characteristics. He [illegible] outstanding writers, and [illegible] identified crucial themes. [illegible] once he has done so be[illegible] were either outstanding or [illegible]

[illegible] skills were on display in the [illegible] issue, which contained an [illegible] article by a former Re[illegible] Secretary of State (Elihu [illegible]) and an article on the Soviet [illegible] after the conferences at [illegible] the Hague (and incident[illegible]) in 1922 by the foremost [illegible] expert on Russia of the day, [illegible] Coolidge. It is true, as [illegible] points out, that not he but Coolidge was the editor of the time, but there is no doubt which took the initiative in causing the Soviet article to be written. Its impact may be judged by the fact that a copy of *Foreign Affairs* is still extant bearing Lenin's own annotations on Coolidge's article. From that day on few of the world's statesmen would refuse an invitation to contribute. Among those included in Mr Armstrong's present collection are Thomas Masaryk, Bukharin, John Foster Dulles, Anthony Eden, and Tom Mboya. To these must be added names selected by Mr Armstrong when they were by no means so eminent as they later became: Dean Rusk, while still only President of the Rockefeller Foundation; Richard Nixon, while still in the political wilderness; and Henry Kissinger, while still no more than an academic admirer of Metternich.

Mr Armstrong has been equally successful in his choice of themes, often anticipating the fashions of public opinion. Notable examples are Henry Stimson on the legal anxieties provoked by the Nuremberg Trials as early as 1947, and Margaret Mead on some of the disquieting implications of overseas aid in 1962. Most striking of all—indeed, the most truly prophetic article in the book—is the study of racial problems in the colonies of the European powers by W. E. B. DuBois in 1925. Side by side with this must be set Tom Mboya's eloquent defence of the one-party system in emergent African states, written nearly forty years later from a similar point of view. Other valuable contributions to political theory are Julien Benda's article on "Pacifism and Democracy" and Harold Laski's on "The Crisis in our Civilization". Benedetto Croce's more philosophical piece, "Of Liberty", must be mentioned, as it was no doubt included, *honoris causa*. On a more personal level, there are brilliant pen-portraits of Lenin, Curzon, Keynes and de Gaulle.

Mr Armstrong's collection is not to be regarded, however, as a mere catalogue of triumphs. Out of a total of 2,600 items from which he had to select, some were melancholy failures. The failures naturally do not appear in this volume: a prudent omission, for example, is Arnold Toynbee's defence of the Munich Agreement. There are also other conspicuous gaps: nothing on nuclear weapons and very little on China (though Nixon's article, written in 1967, can be interpreted as foreshadowing his own policy towards Peking). Two of the most highly regarded articles on the Soviet Union are, to say the least, dated: George Kennan's famous piece on "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" now seems more notable for its ambiguities than its precision; and Isaiah Berlin's on "The Silence in Russian Culture" mercifully seems pessimistic since the emergence of Solzhenitsyn and *samizdat*. The area in which the American writers shine particularly brightly is that of self-criticism of their failures in foreign policy; nor is this confined to academic contributors. Just as impressive as Irving Kristol on "American Intellectuals and Foreign Policy" or Arthur Schlesinger's "Origins of the Cold War" is the remorseful exposure by Clark M. Clifford of the steps by which, as Secretary for Defence, he belatedly became aware of the futility of the war in Vietnam. It will be a great day for international relations when a comparable criticism of Soviet policy can appear in a Soviet periodical.

Mr Armstrong's achievement has not been merely that of an editorial midwife. He has contributed an important piece of his own to this collection, as well as the preface. "Isolated America" is an assessment of his country's position in the world at the end of the first half-century of *Foreign Affairs*. The epithet is in ironic contrast with the term "isolationist" which was current at the beginning of the period. The United States has tried to be the universal aunt as well as the kindly policeman of the rest of the world, and has been painfully rebuffed. Mr Armstrong does not regard it as his business to apportion the blame or even to confine himself to an examination of American failings. He looks to the future:

> The direction is not backward in nostalgia, to the virtues of our forefathers, except that we will draw from them an adventurous spirit and in that spirit will answer the question "What is wrong?" with the answer they gave, "Let's do something about it".

This is a fair account of what always has been, and is likely to continue to be, the American reaction to world problems as well as those at home. It would be churlish to insist that the conclusion is not really an answer to the question at all but implies an intermediate answer which is not given. To supply that intermediate answer by analysis and reasoned criticism must, and no doubt will, remain the primary task of Mr Armstrong's admirable quarterly.

The Orthodox impact

WILLIAM C. FLETCHER:

Religion and Soviet Foreign Policy 1945-1970

179pp. Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. £3.50.

William Fletcher is to be congratulated both on the boldness of the task he has set himself and also on the skill with which he has accomplished it. He has taken a subject which lies in two academic fields, or rather minefields—contemporary church history, and Soviet studies. Treading delicately but firmly, he negotiates the twenty-five postwar years and brings his reader through with him. To his task he brings scholarship, of course; but he also brings a judicious and balanced attitude, combining a dispassionate style with an underlying sense of real concern for the well-being and credibility of the religious communities in the Soviet Union. He is committed without being censorious or polemical; and he has succeeded in writing what is likely to be the standard work for some years to come.

In an introductory chapter he sets out the aims and limitations of his study together with an analysis of the successive bargains struck between the religious and the avowedly anti-religious Soviet state, the most notable of which was the informal concordat of September 4, 1943 with the Russian Orthodox Church. He traces the Church's re-emergence on the world scene during the expansionist years of Soviet policy from 1945 to 1948 and its participation in the peace campaign of the Cold War period. There is a particularly helpful chapter on the Prague Christian Peace Conference which is perhaps the best summary available. He shows how those very virtues which had enabled the active and fruitful participation of responsible non-fellow-travelling Western churchmen also ensured the movement's virtual collapse in the wake of the events of 1968. The chapters on the Third World and on Islam and Buddhism are something of interludes; and the treatment of Judaism is particularly thin. Apart from a short section in the context of a discussion of Middle Eastern international policy, it is only invoked to provide a contrast with the role of the Christian churches:

> The effective, well-substantiated, and highly publicized campaign of the Western Jewish community has been highly detrimental to the interests of Soviet foreign policy. . . . The Soviet Union has not enjoyed the services of Jewish representatives in Western affairs, and that similar difficulties have not arisen among Western Christians may be attributed, at least in some measure, to the services rendered by the Russian Churches to Soviet foreign policy.

Here he possibly underestimates the concern felt in the West about the fate of the "Initsiativniki" Baptists and the dissident members of the Russian Orthodox Church. He nevertheless sustains his main thesis, which is that the presence of Russian churchmen in a variety of international ecclesiastical organizations, especially the World Council of Churches, has led to the toning-down or even phasing-out of pronouncements unacceptable to the Russian government and that at a time when American churchmen, for example, have felt no similar constraints. It is worth considering, however, that this may simply be a function of such bodies becoming more genuinely *world*—as opposed to purely *Western*—bodies, than we had grown accustomed to expect. Moreover, in the Conference of European Churches, which rightly has massive Eastern European and comparatively small British representation, British participants have been able to have statements on international affairs and especially on Northern Ireland modified, rephrased or even withdrawn. Participation cuts both ways and when we can no longer expect to win every point it is still worth staying in the game.

In his concluding chapters Dr Fletcher turns to an analysis of "Trends and Prospects" and "Limitations and Opportunities". There is inevitably some speculation, interspersed with cautious judgments of which this is a typical example: "The existence of a strong current of liberal Christianity offers some opportunities for Soviet foreign policy which might not be available were a less innovative approach dominant in the West."

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The English death

LAWRENCE DURRELL:
The Black Book
243pp. Faber and Faber. £2.

The Black Book was written in Greece in 1937, published in Paris during the following year. In a preface to the American edition, which appeared in 1959, the author calls it "a two-fisted attack on literature by an angry young man of the thirties", angry about what he characterizes as "the English Death". Without thought of publication, as he says, Mr Durrell sent the manuscript to Henry Miller. When the book was published through Miller's encouragement, copies filtered through to Britain (the present publication is the first English edition), and it became known, talked about, praised, by several fellow-writers including T. S. Eliot and Cyril Connolly.

Today *The Black Book* is a period piece. A young man living on a Greek headland remembers scenes and characters from the "universal death, the English death, which I have escaped". Most of the characters actually seem more like remittance men inhabiting Henry Miller's Paris than anybody to be seen in the English landscape at that time, but there is also the diary of Death (really Herbert) Gregory, who is writing a book called *Urine*; there are working-class girls and prostitutes getting laid, married, dying; there are portraits of appalling teachers at an appalling school; and there are many lyrical anarchic passages in praise of life and the sexual organs. What was the English death which had been escaped? One of the more effective rhetorical passages sums up what was perhaps the most important aspect of it:

> In the Sunday papers the great men become retromingent, pissing backwards into the mouth of the public and talking about the shapely subsisting beauty of tradition. In London they are dancing round the Walpole, the Faber poets are marking time and ushering in the millennium with a series of elegant squibs, the Lesbians are onanizing with squeals of buttered sperm, and the noise of the cleaver is lost in the nervous orgasm of a million women novelists. In Rome the papal nuncio announces the use of the fountain pen in such cases where the penis will not work. In Calcutta the black sweep is wandering with crumbs in his eyes, touching the untouchable, and eating the uneatable. In the Ghetto the streets are full of juice and the pavements slippery with haddocks' eyes. In Lisbon there are women as inexhaustible as the Indian Ocean, lying with their legs apart, watching the express hurtle towards them on its metals.

The miserable narrowness of English social life, the cocooned complacency of prominent literary figures, were real. To them Durrell opposed glamorous colourful surrealist inconsequence, images of sexual energy, fruitfulness and decay. Just as Henry Miller seemed to George Orwell at the time to be a monster perhaps but a creative monster, a Jonah living exultantly inside the whale, so the freedom employed by Lawrence Durrell here, plus his frequent use of forbidden words and his occasional phrases about sexual acts, appeared to offer new possibilities for literature to those distrustful of the literary-political stance of many young writers.

Today, when many of the books on public library shelves are more outspoken than Durrell, so that the shock effect has altogether gone, such an idea is hard to understand. The book was written under the shadow of Henry Miller, but it contains much less (even) in the way of a continuous narrative than *Tropic of Cancer*. "The secretive, winding plasm of Gregory tangled in his own egoismus" is what Durrell is concerned to exploit. *The Black Book*, in spite of the despair that is said to have inspired it, comes through most often as the work of a young man having rather wayward fun. In doing so he offers some passages of sharp observation. A hunchbacked [illegible] teased by the children he [illegible]

> If he dares to make a [illegible] laughter is so harsh [illegible] that one winces instinc[illegible] he seems not to notice, [illegible] the gridiron of his [illegible] When they get him [illegible] the run the rage sets his [illegible] and hard; his nose [illegible] sink back into his forehe[illegible] like a bird.

Some other scenes and [illegible] equally well seen, but [illegible] effect is lost in a sea of [illegible] Perhaps one short passage [illegible] given, to show the flavour:

> Suddenly I am awake [illegible] ing in you like a turret, [illegible] to the elements, the [illegible] delicate nebulae, the [illegible] grows on you and stifle[illegible] fleece. I am carried [illegible] through you like angry [illegible] a plague, a ferment of [illegible] which there is no cross.

Etcetera.

The social implications [illegible] writing have some interest [illegible] meeting Miller in 1936, when [illegible] way to Spain, Orwell was [illegible] to find a fellow-writer who [illegible] interest in the Civil War, [illegible] that to mix oneself up in [illegible] from a sense of obligation [illegible] stupidity. In *The Black* [illegible] Durrell, like Miller, showed [illegible] est at all in what was going [illegible] side his own immediate [illegible] the English literary scene [illegible] some ways parochial, this [illegible] book offers no wider prospect [illegible] personal guided tour of [illegible] Durrell. When the writer's [illegible] tricity is sufficiently all[illegible] such an attitude, then as [illegible] have its immediate [illegible] Orwell was impressed by Miller [illegible] realized even at the time of [illegible] enthusiasm that he was [illegible] descend into unintelligibility [illegible] charlatanism". Durrell's [illegible] not of such a size as to place [illegible] the same danger. *The* [illegible] was just an early boss [illegible] writer of already evident [illegible]

Chandler-power

PAUL THEROUX:
Saint Jack
250pp. Bodley Head. £2.25.

Paul Theroux's style gets sadder, funnier and more distinctive with each novel. Those clashes of culture and race that produce stultifying ritual displays of "sensitiveness" in so many writers come out in his fiction as living, unpredictable farce:

> I had a vision of luxury hotels underpinning the most exotic features of a people's culture, the arts and crafts surviving in the Hilton long after they had ceased to be practised in the villages.

He is tremendously good at the commercial dialects that are generated on the very edge of articulacy, where conversation is more like barter than anything else. Offer the wrong brand of cliché, or worse still a remark not clichéd enough (too knowing, too personal) and you may forfeit the precarious trust on which the whole deal depends. The hero of *Saint Jack* is a middle-aged American pimp in Singapore; with years of practice he has perfected a style of mind-bending banality—corny cross-talk, sycophantic sniggers and parlour-tricks. He has, he admits, sometimes slipped up:

> the funny thing was, I had a college education, almost a degree . . . I recall meeting an Irish seaman on one of my "meat runs", as my ferrying of girls into the harbour was called. Hearing his brogue, I said, "I'm crazy about Joyce" and he replied, "That skinny one in the yellow dress?"
> I said, "You guessed it!"

Doesn't do to let your mind stray off the job. Of course, in telling it, he has translated it into a joke he can tell at the club: a minor epiphany (despite Joyce) has been avoided, and his mask remains intact—he is the Jack everyone knows and trusts, that card, that nursery rhyme character, indestructible and shameless.

He is a very professional narrator; everything is converted into the small change of clubbable anecdote. But as he rambles through his repertoire, a jovial ancient mariner, self-consciousness looms. He realizes that over the years he has himself become a landmark on the tourist trail, and that instead of wanting action (as he would say) the fellers, his clients, just want to talk to him. And for a dedicated pimp, let alone a simple-minded narrator, that's *perverse*. He prefers to see himself as the ultimate Ship's Chandler (his official job), the man who can predict and supply all the simple wants of his fellows, guarding them (and himself) against the sad obscenities of personality, the humiliating pains of growing up and growing old. The book pivots on the arrival of that one insignificant visitor who is going to reject the verbal nudges and winks, who refuses to speak the language and play the game. It only takes one unbeliever: Jack loses confidence in his own innocence, begins to look at what his stories always left out. Is he a purveyor of brief happiness and peace, or a corrupt mocker and betrayer? He works it out—in the Bandung, the only club he really belongs to, among the left-over British with their fragile, unwritten rules going back to boarding school; in his hectic dealings with the American war machine over the fellers fighting in Vietnam (who come to Singapore for their pleasures). And in the end, he is allowed to keep his innocence (almost) and to go on telling stories.

Story-telling must be the second oldest profession and it has a lot in common with the first. Either of them can be conducted with or without moral analysis and anguish, either can make you feel like a participant or a voyeur. Ideally, the story-teller makes a rather limited and mechanical deal with his audience, and sends them away flushed, pleasured and, for the moment, satisfied. It's a relationship that leaves the participants as hopelessly separate as, say, an Irish seaman and a Cantonese whore, but you can imagine less honest models for human communication. Mr Theroux is clearly nostalgic for [illegible] where both sex and [illegible] be done simply, ritually, [illegible] out shame: better to [illegible] whore than to make her [illegible] and teach her sentences [illegible] "We Chinese . . ."?

Road sho[illegible]

HOWARD NORTH:
Expressway
320pp. Collins. £2.25.

Expressway is a documentary [illegible] reminiscent of the best [illegible] films of the late 1940s [illegible] 1950s. Realism, or [illegible] as conventional or as selec[illegible] tional technique as any [illegible] "Howard North" (or Eller[illegible] vor, as he is better known) [illegible] within a pattern of [illegible] anticipation. We know the [illegible] more sets of characters [illegible] of them will meet some [illegible] tion of vehicular fate [illegible] way, during the Fourth of July [illegible] end. But which ones? [illegible] and who wins through? [illegible]

The novel is plainly di[illegible] Mr North has done [illegible] search. Facts, statistics, [illegible] and prophecies are uttered [illegible] rather admonitory conversa[illegible] *Expressway* could have [illegible] very boring book; a fact [illegible] not is due to Mr North's [illegible] ket coverage of the [illegible] that face the highway police [illegible] attitudes—either humane [illegible] tical, or statistical and [illegible] are severely dramatized as [illegible] their best to handle the [illegible] disasters of mechanized [illegible] on a holiday—the nervous [illegible] ing executive who drinks; [illegible] whose daughter is seized [illegible] tously as a hostage; a wife [illegible] her husband; and so on. The [illegible] love, childbirth, murder, and [illegible] else, on the Parkway. Above [illegible] there is danger, randomly [illegible] by human failings.

[illegible]rban rambles

[illegible] EMILIO GADDA:
[illegible] seconda
[illegible] Milan: Garzanti. L.2,220.

[illegible] of Gadda are accustomed [illegible] works that are unfinished, [illegible] *Novella seconda* and *Notte di* [illegible] are remarkable because, in [illegible] to having no end, they have [illegible] either. About the same [illegible] he handed to his publishers [illegible] finished manuscript of *La* [illegible] (reviewed here on September 25, 1970) Gadda also con[illegible] to them three unpublished [illegible] (two written in exercise [illegible] bought from the stationers [illegible] in Galleria), in a frag[illegible] state, which have never [illegible] revised, let alone finished. [illegible] not for the admirable notes [illegible] Gelli, much of the material [illegible] be almost unintelligible, al[illegible] at certain points Gadda [illegible] detailed indications of how he [illegible] the action to proceed.

[illegible] most important work, *Novella* [illegible], was written in March 1928 [illegible] few days, immediately after [illegible] accounts of a peculiarly [illegible] and macabre murder in the [illegible] Buenos Aires, Milan, which [illegible] followed by the trial of a boy [illegible] matricide; and "Matricidio" [illegible] would have been called had [illegible] become clear later on that the [illegible] was not the work of the child, [illegible] merely witnessed the crime, [illegible] to act. The present title [illegible] significance, being the num[illegible] to the draft, according to [illegible] of works planned by [illegible]

[illegible] *seconda* begins with a [illegible] on Milanese habits, [illegible] and clothes in 1923-24. The [illegible] of the hysterical women at the trial, together with the tirade in the *camera dei deputati* by the On. Manaresi against women being admitted to the court are mentioned. It is, however, necessary to consult Signor Gelli's notes to discover from the reports in *Il Corriere della Sera* that the boy was accused of bringing girls into the apartment, where his mother's corpse lay putrefying in a chest, and having sexual relations with them on his mother's bed. Similarly we find that Manaresi's speech was made to defend the femininity of women against such horrors and to stress the beautiful character of the murdered mother.

The story continues with an amusing description of Daniele Classis, the boy's grandfather, and his daughter Denira. Thereafter, Gadda divagates happily on any subject that crosses his mind. "My desire", he wrote, "was to be romantic and interesting, in the style of Conan Doyle." In fact the story drifts on, describing Denira's male admirers, how she gave birth to a child and how just before her marriage she goes off on a mad and drunken journey. The rest is a jumble.

The language is as characteristic of Gadda as his choice of a gruesome murder for a subject. Carducci's translation of a line of Heine is "accademico e frinfrinato"; the second adjective is coined from Carducci's own coinage of a verb "frinire", to make a noise like that of the song of a cicada. Gadda goes on to say that Carducci has turned "the unstressed and caesural rhythm of Heine into an oxytonic cascade that is strikingly Italian".

Notte di Luna, written in 1930, the second piece in the volume, starts with a typical Gaddian ramble. There is a good description of the miners, who speak Bergamo dialect, and of young hooligans ("teppisti", a word which, Gadda explains in a note, he first heard at Tirano in 1921). The action begins in the second chapter, "L'allegrezza", and goes on for just over nine pages, including a fair quantity of footnotes. The anarchist Molteni comes in towards the end, and is the subject of a long description in pencil, which is transcribed at length in Signor Gelli's notes. But Molteni really belongs to another and earlier work, *Il lavoro italiano*.

Oddly enough (most things in Gadda are odd) the third piece, although rather trivial, is much more satisfactory than the first two. *La casa* is undated (probably 1932) and is not written in one of the famous exercise books, but it at least has a beginning. It is an amusing study of a young man, a civil engineer, who has been left a considerable sum of money, and tries to build a house. His first architect, one of the new rationalists, can only design rectangles, even the wheels of his bicycle are square. The legal, technical and family obstacles which the young man, a kind of youthful Gadda, encounters make up a diverting if unfinished piece.

The three fragments are certainly important for a study of Gadda's future work: matricides, anarchists, creatures weakened by misfortune, mentally defective children, mad architects, they are all there. But nothing happens. Gadda's ramblings, embellished by passages in dialect, are not easy reading and his pencilled jottings, carefully transcribed in the notes, are often more interesting than the stories themselves.

[illegible]ountry matters

[illegible] TENDRYAKOV:
[illegible] Seven, Ace and other Stories
[illegible] by David Alger, Olive [illegible] and Paul Falla.
[illegible] Harvill Press. £2.25.

[illegible] to forget that most Russian [illegible] is concerned with neither [illegible] to nor glorification of the [illegible] political system, but with [illegible] of the profounder [illegible] of man in society. Vladimir [illegible] Tendryakov is a writer [illegible] us back into this main[illegible] of Russian literature, al[illegible] he became known in the post[illegible] Thaw, has mostly written [illegible] liberal paper *Novy Mir* (his [illegible] appearing last January), [illegible] been the subject of political [illegible] by conservative critics.

[illegible] three novellas collected here [illegible] from the world of *samizdat*, [illegible] concern authority, but author[illegible] general, not of the Commu[illegible] Party in particular; they des[illegible] individuals in trouble, but [illegible] personal weakness, not [illegible] political oppression. The mate[illegible] provincial, in the good [illegible] Tendryakov deals with life [illegible] country areas, especially [illegible] aptly-named district of [illegible] Bor" (="deep pine [illegible]). The technique is tradi[illegible] also in the good sense— [illegible] Tendryakov tells a straightforward [illegible] incidentally revealing charac[illegible] discovering rather than [illegible] a moral.

[illegible] Seven, Ace" (1960) [illegible] of tradition with its very [illegible] which echoes the sequence of [illegible] *The Queen of Spades*. Like [illegible] story, Tendryakov's des[illegible] the (literally) fatal effects of [illegible] though in a very differ[illegible]. A small lumber camp [illegible] in the far north, self[illegible] under its tough, respected [illegible] takes in an outsider, a [illegible] from another lumber camp [illegible] a former prisoner—but a [illegible] not a political. He is, quite [illegible] a crook, and Tendryakov [illegible] how such a "negative" char[illegible] in Soviet terms can destroy a [illegible] ality. He introduces a pack of [illegible] infects his workmates with [illegible] gambling fever, cheats the [illegible] among them out of his sav[illegible] provokes the foreman into a [illegible] and is killed. A young man [illegible] worships the foreman is frightened into betraying him, he is arrested, and the camp falls apart.

"Justice" (1961) has two parts, showing how another tough, respected man is destroyed by the turn of events. There is a bear-hunt, in which an old, professional hunter dominates his two companions up to the point where a passer-by is shot by mistake; then there is an official investigation into the accident, in which the hunter becomes confused by the bureaucratic procedures and first tries to discover and then to disguise the truth. The title of the story, "Sud", would perhaps be better translated as "The Trial", Tendryakov's point being that the hunter (the traditional way of life, etc) has to undergo not so much justice as the trial of economic and social progress.

"Creature of a Day" (1965) is more limited. A pig-breeder fiddles the figures of piglets born and pigs dead to cover up her mistakes, and eventually becomes famous all over Gustoi Bor for her success. She marries the chairman of the village soviet and is interviewed in the press. The situation gets worse and worse, and she ends by burning down the piggery to avoid exposure.

Tendryakov may lack the technical sophistication taken for granted among short-story writers in the West, but there is considerable subtlety in his social and psychological approach, and it is interesting to see how far he escapes from the restrictions of orthodox socialist realism and affirms the moral realism traditional in Russian literature before the Revolution—and indeed after it, until the onset of Stalinism.

Forces of love

MARC BRANDEL:
The Man Who Liked Women
287pp. Methuen. £2.50.

The point of departure for Marc Brandel's first novel for sixteen years is a dubious one. His hero, Bascombe Fletcher, is "that rare thing, a man who likes women". It is the sort of statement which floats around in Women's Lib pamphlets and makes no sense whichever way it is looked at. However, it is because of this supposedly rare gift that Fletcher, who is an American engineer based in London, is chosen to be the guardian angel and lover of Venus, who is reborn in his London flat through his head. The newly born goddess is one-and-a-half inches high and Fletcher makes a home for her in a suitcase. What follows is an oddly touching mixture of fable, fairy-tale and allegory, backed by constant changes of scene—London, Los Angeles, Paris, South of France, a journey to Greece—which implies that the contemporary world is no place for a truly tender relationship and that the forces of anti-love are fairly well entrenched everywhere.

Mr Brandel works out vet / convincingly the difficulties which such a visitation would create in the life of a young engineer with his career to make and the complications involved in establishing such a person in a world that needs passports and documents. Fletcher overcomes most of these but is defeated in the end by the fact that Venus, as an immortal, cannot decay and so has to go on growing. Once she is taller than he is they realize that their life together cannot continue and she begs to be taken back to Greece, where the novel ends with a resolution pleasing to all parties.

Such a theme might sound twee or corny but is not, for there is a genuine core of feeling. It seems to arise from nostalgia for the days when women not only depended on men but were seen to be dependent on them, as though the masculine capacity for tenderness were inextricably bound up with the need to protect and cherish the woman from outside forces. Now that women are competing with men in nearly all fields the masculine tenderness is rebuffed, coarsened; the sexes no longer complement each other. Mr Brandel has a dead-pan humour which prevents his little lesson from growing tedious or preachy; but the book is too long. Or perhaps, to be more exact, the reader has a feeling that the original idea has spent itself a good way before the end.

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The form of forms

FREDRIC JAMESON:

Marxism and Form

432pp. Princeton University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £6.

FREDRIC JAMESON's book is a collection of essays, some previously published, on six thinkers who fall roughly into the category of "Hegelian" Marxists: Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Herbert Marcuse, Ernst Bloch, Georg Lukács, Jean-Paul Sartre. To this is added a methodological chapter, "Towards Dialectical Criticism", in which Mr Jameson seeks to encompass the methods and insights of all these thinkers and so press further the current attack from the left on Anglo-American positivism and empiricism. But, politics apart, it is high time that (of these six) Adorno, Benjamin and Bloch were better known in the Anglo-Saxon world. In addition to their intrinsic interest, they are the most difficult to translate and understand. Mr Jameson's exposition of their ideas is constantly exhilarating in the spirit of that tradition which extends from Plato's *Symposium* through Diderot's *Conversations* to Hegel's *Phenomenology*. From this tradition Mr Jameson inherits his inventive, playful, even heady style and his carefree mingling of the "disciplines" (philosophy, literary criticism, sociology, economics). His best and longest chapter is devoted to Sartre, on whom he has written before and who has influenced his method most strongly.

In Mr Jameson's hands the method is extraordinarily double-edged. While it helps him to evoke brilliantly his subjects, it prevents him taking a distance from them, thereby putting into question its own status as method. Mr Jameson stays too close to his material, often blurring the distinction between commentator and subject (particularly in the Adorno chapter). This very element of confusion, not in itself "methodological", provides the clearest critique of the author's method.

In his preface Mr Jameson explains:

> I have felt that the dialectical method can be acquired only by a concrete working through of detail, by a sympathetic internal experience of the gradual construction of a system according to its inner necessity. Nor have I attempted to "reconcile" these various constructions in the course of presentation; rather in a final section, I have tried to describe the process of dialectical thinking in general, and the ways in which it can deal with literature in particular.

"Method" thereby becomes one with "sympathetic internal experience". Elements of method, like distance or criticism, are incorporated into this experience in the form of dialectical extensions, like folds added to a concertina, creating an ever richer texture of expression when it is squeezed together again. As in the writing of the German Romantics (to whom Mr Jameson's thinkers, especially Benjamin and the early Lukács, owe a great deal) criticism and distance become *aesthetic* categories, assimilated to the *experience* of the particular thought or work.

This is the famous Romantic "irony", a self-sceptical dialectical procedure by which the author reflects back upon his own fiction. The German Romantics viewed criticism as the necessary completion of art. Theirs was the first *artistic* criticism. Mr Jameson's metaphorical style links him as much with these aesthetic dialecticians as with the conceptual iconoclasts and system-makers (Plato, Diderot, Hegel).

Mr Jameson fluctuates between a dialectical scepticism, which builds "systems" of a purely phenomenological, experiential, "situational" kind (the "concertina" model) and Marxist materialism. He heads his book with a quotation from Lenin: "Intelligent idealism is closer to intelligent materialism than is unintelligent materialism." But whereas Lenin is unambiguously materialistic, taking from idealism only its dialectics and the notion of the active subject, Mr Jameson hesitates before materialism, like Althusser accepting it only "in the last instance" (and not always then). Before that last instance he assembles every mode of modern thought that may be termed dialectical in a vast popular front. Given his understanding of method, Mr Jameson is nowhere definite or rigorous about what he means by dialectics. He applies the term generally to any form of thought or work of art (here the German Romantic tradition comes in) which is self-reflexive, that is which is, or seeks to be, aware of its own premises and processes. Listing pragmatism, phenomenology, logical positivism, existentialism, structuralism, Sartre, Wittgenstein, Nietzsche, Freud, Russian Formalism, American New Criticism—he sees them all as a "movement of dialectical consciousness" intent on assaulting "our conventionalized life patterns", administering shocks to "our routine vision of things" desiring (at least implicitly) to restructure "our habitual consciousness".

Beyond this popular front lies the terrain of Marxist materialism:

> What distinguishes such concepts *philosophically* from genuine dialectical thinking is of course their failure to account for the initial numbness of our perception in the first place, their inability to furnish a sufficiently historical explanation for that ontological deficiency which they can only understand in ethical and aesthetic terms. Yet such intellectual distortion, such structural repression of an essential element in the situation, is amply accounted for by the Marxist theory of ideology, which posits a kind of resistance or *mauvaise foi* that grows ever stronger as we draw closer to that truth of the socio-economic which, were it realized in all its transparency, would immediately obligate us to praxis.

Elsewhere, however, Mr Jameson is not so sure about the final ground of dialectical thinking, describing, for instance, the Marxist theory of reflection as a *trope*, simply the *sign* of the last element of a series, epistemologically equivalent to the last terms of a structuralist, existentialist or psychoanalytic series. You simply make your choice of the final ground. In this way existentialism comes to the aid of semiology and structuralism, and Marxism is relativized into one reductionist "model" among others:

> The basic problem or task faced by such a model is therefore the choice of some ultimate explanatory series which can stand as the signified to the other more superficial signifiers: in Marxism, of course, this ultimate series is the socio-economic one, or the form of the mode of production; for the structuralists it is language itself.

The mode of production is conceived here primarily as an intellectual construct not as the socio-economic reality itself. And the notion of form expresses a phenomenological epistemology rather than referring to given socio-economic formations. In another place Mr Jameson describes Marxism as an "absolute formalism". It is in this sense that the "Marxism" and the "form" of the title are connected.

In "post-industrial monopoly capitalism", he argues, the old "class model", so clear in the 1930s, has disappeared; the primary processes of production and consumption have been rendered invisible by the service industries, automation, supermarkets, the mass media. All this is indeed the reality responsible for the "phenomenology" of late-capitalist society, for those "sticky cobwebs of the false and unreal culture" which, according to Mr Jameson, entangle all forms of action in the United States. But the point is: has the class struggle disappeared along with the older "class" model?—a question which must be asked not merely of the United States, but of Western Europe too.

We should remember also that the majority of Mr Jameson's thinkers worked out their theories at a time of intense class struggle of the classical kind (the 1930s in Germany). Finally, there exists a world economic system to which the individual "monopoly capitalisms" stand in an exploitative relationship. Mr Jameson relativizes Marxism into that which is appropriate to the backward countries ("peasant Marxism") and that which suits the advanced. But such a division limits both "Marxisms", for it takes them out of the exploitative interrelationship between the advanced and backward countries. In consequence, it is the secondary level of reality in the United States—the technology, the marketing, the advertising, the "consciousness industry"—which serves as the exclusive object of Mr Jameson's theoretical critique.

Thus the Marxism fit for "post-industrial society" is of a special kind, designed to clear away those "sticky cobwebs" which mystify reality; and until this happens, the argument runs, no worthwhile political action can be taken. The difficulty, however, is that the reality which Mr Jameson wishes to get through to has been abolished by his own phenomenological scheme, for it is not the reality which is "experienced". In this scheme the "real" or primary reality becomes an existential intellectual construct, based on memory or hope, by means of which the fragmentation or quantification of the "given" social reality may be understood and combated.

From his philosophers of culture Mr Jameson draws the categories of his "real" reality. Adorno provides the weapon of "negative dialectics", a Mephistophelean encouragement of all art that feeds upon and incites the internal self-dissolution of capitalist values. Walter Benjamin and Ernst Bloch are paired respectively into the nostalgist and the utopian of a lost or ever-to-be-discovered, ever-imminently-possible totality. Marcuse is illuminatingly linked with Schiller as a theoretician of revolutionary play. Lukács by his philosophy of narrative form becomes the vicarious theorist of human action in the context of historical continuity. Sartre, finally, is called upon to resolve the contradictions between historical and "experimental" time, between the self-images or self-deceptions of a social class and its objective historical role; a resolution designed to protect "lived" history from its purely epistemological conceptualization.

Mr Jameson's fastidious attention to form yields some magnificent insights. From Adorno, for example, he is able to elicit musical form as a normative model for studying the sociology of literature, for music can exhibit in purely formal terms the more heterogeneous form/content relationship of literature. In overall terms the six thinkers provide a kind of heuristic Platonism, tentative ideal forms representing a [illegible] reality. And Marxism appears [illegible] form of forms.

In the final chapter Mr Jameson practises his theoretical [illegible] modernist art which he seeks [illegible] cue for Marxism in the dialectical "inward" manner of the [illegible] described above. Yet it is [illegible] he most fruitfully under[illegible] own thesis, analysing the [illegible] dangers of dialectical scepticism [illegible] resorting for a criterion to [illegible] nizable and resistant social [illegible]. Noting the habit of modernists to incorporate their "[illegible] production" into their [illegible] component, at once a means [illegible] object, Mr Jameson pro[illegible] brilliantly perceptive [illegible] Hemingway's sentence [illegible] (not a writer to be thought [illegible] diately as modernist). But Jameson also notes that such a [illegible] regarding his own means [illegible] tion as his prime reality, [illegible] touch with the productive [illegible] forming processes of the real [illegible] he diagnoses Hemingway's [illegible] terms of just such a blindness:

> As for the human environment [illegible] Hemingway's books, [illegible] is itself a kind of device [illegible] for them. For the immense complex fabric of American reality itself is clearly [illegible] to the careful and selective sentence which he practises [illegible] is useful to have to do [illegible] reality thinned out, the [illegible] foreign cultures and of [illegible] languages, where the [illegible] beings come before us [illegible] density of a concrete [illegible] tion in which we are also [illegible] but rather with the clear [illegible] objects which can be [illegible] cumscribed. And when [illegible] of his life the world [illegible] change, and the Cuban [illegible] made a retreat back [illegible] borders of the United [illegible] order, it does not seem [illegible] fetched to speculate that [illegible] resistance of such [illegible] reality, which as a writer [illegible] never practised, that [illegible] to stylistic impotence and [illegible] suicide.

Mr Jameson distinguishes [illegible] the older and the new [illegible]. The older was conscious [illegible] anti-philistine, elitist. The [illegible] popular and pervasive [illegible] "John Cage's music, Andy [illegible] movies, novels by Burroughs [illegible] by Beckett, Godard, camp, [illegible] O. Brown, psychedelic experience". The popularity of the different [illegible] and practices no doubt vary [illegible] certainly they are all more [illegible] able and marketed than the [illegible] modernism. The new [illegible] like the old, is built upon [illegible] and conscious self-alienation [illegible] Jameson sees the difference [illegible] the two modernisms in the popularity of the new. What [illegible] him is that the sceptical [illegible] alienating pose of the new [illegible] artists and their very much [illegible] audiences to make peace "[illegible] very necessity of such disgust [illegible] alienation". If this is the case [illegible] different in principle is [illegible] "negative dialectics", of which Jameson approves, from Sontag's "new sensibility", the [illegible] cal defence of the new [illegible] which disturbs him? Or is it [illegible] larity which makes modernism dangerous?

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[illegible] law of literary criticism that [illegible] whole American journalists [illegible] write good books, though they [illegible] write outstanding journalism. [illegible] McCarry's volume illustrates [illegible] points perfectly. It is rather [illegible], rather unscholarly and [illegible] irritating, for it employs the [illegible]-children style devised by American press for a public [illegible] is more likely to read a newspaper than a book. On the other [illegible] Mr McCarry has worked very [illegible] and is a shrewd, experienced [illegible]. He has painted a vivid picture of Ralph Nader, his career and [illegible], which provides a very [illegible] basis for consideration of an [illegible] ordinary phenomenon. As such [illegible] welcome.

[illegible] one has heard of Nader: how [illegible] as a junior member of the [illegible] group which, in the mid-[illegible] was trying to improve the [illegible] of American cars through [illegible]; how he rocketed to fame [illegible] he proved that General [illegible] had been prying into his private [illegible], apparently in the hope of [illegible] ing or discrediting him; [illegible] used his fame to start a [illegible] wide movement among young [illegible], mostly college students, com[illegible] to the criticism and reform of American institutions, and, ultimately, of American society itself. [illegible] a name of power, and Mr [illegible] reminds us of his achievements, of the laws he has helped to [illegible], of the successful clean-[illegible] (for example, of the [illegible] union) which he has helped [illegible]. Mr McCarry also records [illegible] nature of many Nader vic[illegible] and the questionable methods [illegible] crusader frequently employs [illegible] use of his favourite technique, in the worst tradition of the [illegible] to launch character-assassination against allies, such as Senators [illegible] and Ribicoff, who are less [illegible] hole-hoggers (but Ribicoff has [illegible] last word, remarking that Nader is becoming "the national scold"). The reader is left commendably free to weigh the issues. Mr McCarry seems to be sure that Nader is a great man but to be worried about his failings. Further than that he does not go, for which we may be grateful.

The study of American history prompts two observations. In the first place, as Mr McCarry's allusions to Upton Sinclair remind us, Nader's muckraking, and his agitation against the great business corporations, are by no means new: they are, in fact, the very stuff of, for example, the Progressive Movement of the early twentieth century and now, as then, appeal most forcibly to the white middle class. The unions are suspicious of Nader's Raiders, and the blacks have nothing to do with them at all—when their leader spoke at a predominantly black college in Ohio, his audience was overwhelmingly white. One precedent suggests, then, that Nader is likely to fall far short of achieving the radical changes that he preaches, and even furnishes grounds for thinking that, now that he is detaching himself from specific reform movements to launch his philippics against society in general, he is already descending from the peak of his effectiveness.

Secondly, Nader's personality—fanatical, boundlessly energetic and devoted, ill-mannered, somewhat paranoid, contemptuous of all compromise, superb at publicity and agitation—recalls a much earlier reformer, William Lloyd Garrison, the great abolitionist. Mr McCarry notes that Nader's rhetoric "has something in common with the inspired banality of a nondenominational preacher". He stalks the country by plane and car (even though the car is the chief enemy of health and happiness, and he refuses to own one) summoning the nation to repent its technological crimes before it is too late, and demanding the most extravagant tokens of repentance: it seems that he will not be happy until most of the business leaders of America are behind bars. Just so did Garrison draw on the evangelical rhetoric of his age, calling on the Americans to repent the sin of slavery, quarrelling with all his friends and, in his impossibilist demands for instant abolition, seeming to injure the cause more than help it.

Yet, by a process that is still not clear, slavery died, and scholars now think that Garrison had more to do with its death than was formerly allowed. So not all the precedents are discouraging for Ralph Nader.

The reasons of state

RAYMOND ARON:

République impériale
Les Etats-Unis dans le monde 1945-1972

338pp. Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 30fr.

First and firmly it must be said that Raymond Aron's new book should be brought out in England as soon as possible (an American translation is to be published by Prentice-Hall). All too few students of American history will be able to read M Aron's elegant French for themselves, and yet not the least of the book's many virtues is that it is just what undergraduates need, and what their teachers have been looking for for years. It is a full-length, comprehensive study of American foreign policy in all areas since the end of the Second World War, and for all M Aron's modest disclaimers (in his introduction) it could be safely put into the hands of a beginner—anything he did not understand would be a stimulus to further reading, and M Aron's sagacity, wide knowledge and absolute lucidity would provide the best kind of grounding.

It could also act as a corrective against the intelligent student's worse fault, the tendency to run after the latest notions uncritically. M Aron deals faithfully, in every sense, with the controversial literature that has of late sprung up round every aspect of postwar American foreign policy: he is a guide both to the subject itself and to its historiography. His opening chapter, "L'île-continent", is a masterly summary of pre-1941 American diplomatic history. No other author does so much. His English publishers must hurry.

It is perhaps needless to say that M Aron has as much to say to the teachers as to the taught. He is not a man to waste his time on textbook banalities, and, though undergraduates may be unconscious of it, he is in fact offering a systematic re-interpretation of recent American diplomacy which will command the interest of all scholars. His stance, as always, is one of distinguished commonsense, and it is understandable that, by and large, he uses the research of such revisionists as Harry Magdoff but rejects their thesis. The *paramarxistes*, as he disdainfully calls them, seek to show that economic interest has determined American policy; M Aron firmly contradicts them.

With exemplary patience and good manners he surveys the origins of the Cold War, the Korean "accident", the Cuban question, Vietnam, Nixon-Kissinger, and the huge subject of the United States in the world market. In every case his instinct leads him to a moderate position; and in most cases he will carry the fair-minded reader with him. For example, he firmly rejects the revisionist contention that it was Western aggression which brought on the postwar breach with Russia. M Aron here certainly has facts and arguments aplenty to support his views; but at bottom he is concerned to remind the revisionists, or to instruct those of them too young to remember, that things looked very different in 1945 from what they do today. It is a pleasure to watch the deftness of his demonstrations.

Having indicated the virtues of *République impériale*, it is right to call attention to its one grave weakness: its author is altogether too reasonable. In his hands muddle ceases to exist: mistakes are made, but they are seen as mistakes of calculation or knowledge, never as proceeding from passion, interest or incompetence, seldom from the pressures of domestic politics. There is a smell of anaesthetic about. Yet, at a time when we wait sadly for the next squalid revelation from Washington about, say, the involvement of ITT in Chilean affairs, it is impossible to accept unreservedly M Aron's picture of a smoothly-turning diplomatic machine. It could be accurate only if diplomacy were a wholly autonomous activity, sealed off from all other political processes; but in America, even today, it is not.

However, though this is a serious blemish, it cannot undo the achievement. This is an important book.

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In Vienna

WALTER KOSCHATZKY and ALICE STROBL:

Dürer Drawings in the Albertina

Translated by Heide and Alastair Grieve

365pp. Secker and Warburg. £10.50.

This book derives from the 400th anniversary of Dürer's birth. The publishers asked Heide and Alastair Grieve, after their conspicuous success in tackling Wölfflin's difficult Dürer book, to translate the text of the Albertina volume, which reads extremely smoothly.

Although the Albertina drawings had of course been catalogued by Winkler, as part of his comprehensive corpus of Dürer's drawings, it is good to have a separate volume of them, and in such a distinguished production. All drawings have been photographed in four colours, even the monochrome ones, so that the fidelity of chalk, ink and watercolour is extremely high. For example, the two coloured inks in the "Calvary" drawing (1511) give a depth unrealized in a purely black-and-white reproduction. The reverses of sheets are reproduced, as well as details of other relevant works by Dürer and other comparative material.

The fame of the Albertina collection of 139 Dürer drawings is justly world-wide, not merely because of its uniform excellence, but also because of its wide range, from the incredible silverpoint self-portrait at the age of fourteen to drawings made two years before his death. The bulk of the collection was acquired by the Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen (after whom the Albertina is named) and can be traced back to Dürer's own studio. How the drawings got into the Duke's possession, via Rudolf II and the Imperial collection, and the fate of part of them since, reads like a detective-story, with miraculous escapes from wars and revolutions, embezzlement, police records, hypotheses and deductions, which can all be followed in Walter Koschatzky's interesting introduction.

The full catalogue entries summarize the present state of connoisseurship, but the opinions of others are always supplemented by what the Albertina itself thinks. Curiously enough, though, they do not reveal their reaction to the recent idea in connexion with the studies for "Christ among the Doctors" (Thyssen collection): that Dürer might have gone to Rome in 1506 and painted this picture there. As such a sojourn could only have lasted a month or so, if not weeks, it could be argued that the inscription "Opus quinque dierum" might explain why it was finished in so short a space of time. The Rome theory is by no means proved, but one would have liked to hear what the Albertina experts have to say, especially since all the surviving preliminary drawings are on the characteristic blue Venetian paper.

That Dürer scholarship has finally entered the permissive age is demonstrated by the admittance, first suggested by Professor Held, that the miraculous drawing of the "Three Hands"—only purchased in 1932—shows overt sexual connotations. But it goes rather far to say that the "Nativity" (1514) is an "adaptation" of an engraving by the Master E.S.—the subject is the same, but little else fits.

There is an extensive bibliography, but unless the reader knows the year in which each drawing is dated (the arrangement is chronological), it will be almost impossible to find a particular item with any reasonable speed, for—incredibly enough—there is no index.

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JEAN CASSOU and JEAN LEYMARIE:

Fernand Léger: Dessins et gouaches

206pp plus 304 plates. Paris: Chêne.

Hitherto only two small surveys of Léger's drawings have been published, by M. Jardot and L. G. Buchheim, neither of which contains a meaningful commentary. Both are in fact of poor quality. Jean Cassou and Jean Leymarie were therefore fulfilling a long-felt need when they decided to publish a much larger and more ample study—more than 300 items are here reproduced—of Léger's much-neglected accomplishments as a draughtsman. The works they present are all either in pencil, pen or gouache—several are in colour—and in terms of time cover the years 1903-1954.

The authors claim to have chosen only works "which truly represent the character of Léger's artistic interests at different periods", so that they have not concerned themselves much with decorative projects and stage designs, while they have excluded book illustrations and prints. With a few exceptions they have respected this principle. On the other hand, they have shown no great initiative in looking for fine, unusual or unpublished drawings from among what they are pleased to call "the particularly rich production" of Léger. One has only to pick up the two books already mentioned, plus three or four catalogues of exhibitions organized recently by dealers or museums in Paris and New York, to find virtually all the present collection of works reproduced.

Indeed, the authors have been content to put a considerable proportion of second-rate and downright poor drawings alongside major, beautifully executed and truly characteristic works. They have also made the mistake of not distinguishing one kind of drawing from another according to the different degrees of spontaneity, working-up and *finition* which Léger himself recognized. As an artist he habitually used drawing in a classical manner, that is to say from the notation of a first idea, through studies of detail (whether or not from nature), reversals, changes of scale and position, squaring-up and the like, before finally transferring his pictorial conception on to canvas.

Léger varied his manner of drawing from tentative and untidy to taut and precise, from light to heavy, from simple contour lines to elaborately shaded and modelled compositions. Only the careful studies of details or objects, and the fully elaborated drawings really count, and it is by these that one is entitled to judge Léger as a draughtsman. The rest must take their place in a large group as being of greater or lesser interest and importance within the process of working out one or a series of interrelated paintings.

The authors make a half-hearted attempt to recognize this fact by sometimes placing small reproductions of definitive oil paintings alongside a group of two or three drawings that relate to it. However, they would have done much better—since the necessary documentation is easily available—to select some four or five major compositions of different dates and group around the final painting a representative collection of sketches and drawings from the first to last stages. This would have given readers a chance of approaching Léger's drawings in the spirit that he did himself. There is no shortage of excellent and characteristic drawings on these pages, but the reproductions are mostly on a small scale, and the minor works are accorded equal importance with the major.

The book is divided into twelve sections bearing headings such as "Beginnings and Formation (1903-14)", "The War (1914-17)", "Mechanistic Period (1917-23)", "Objects in Space (1928-32)", "Fascination with Objects (1928-34)", and so on, a division which is so artificial as to be unworkable after 1920. Even the authors have to recognize this, since they show no respect for chronological order in their presentation and constantly transgress their own thematic divisions. For example, a section headed "First Big Compositions, 1935-39", contains works of 1925, 1932 and 1940, while if one thinks back to "Nudes in a Forest" (1909-10), "The [...] Players" (1917), "The City" and the "Grand Déjeuner" [...] even the heading is seen [...] leading. All of this is [...] necessary and contrary to the [...] dical spirit of Léger himself.

The authors might also [...] more attentive in compiling [...] logue entries for the dra[wings re]produced: thus No 109, [...] called "Sketch for The [...] is in fact a study of [...] relates to a painting of the [...] correctly entitled "Archi[...] might also have been [...] note that Nos 265, 267 and [...] closely to three lithograph[s ...] as the selection of drawings [...] cerned, the best sections [...] covering the periods 19[...] 1928-34.

M Leymarie's linking [...] somewhat monotonous [...] self-evident facts and [...] M Cassou's introduction [...] is spirited and enjoyable [...] real understanding, he [...] Léger's "tempérament d[...]" and adds: "An image is [...] tion of a certain thing, [...] stration of it." M Cassou compares Léger's [...] achievement in his field [...] ings with the graphic and [...] technique employed in [...] stained-glass panels:

> Léger was following [...] instinct when he made [...] heavy black contours, [...] romanesque times they [...] conditioned by technical [neces]sity. Léger was not con[scious of] this because the origin[al ...] had disappeared, so he [...] taking over an existing [...] Yet he did have recourse [to the] same procedure for formal and aesthetic reasons of [...] . . . These contours are [...] of the language he speaks [...] language of images . . . through his disposition [...] maker of images Léger [...] whole intellectual [...] origins are deep and [...] indestructible world of [...] *France* with its crafts[...] popular traditions.

This makes sense.

The new houses of God

REINHARD GIESELMANN:

Contemporary Church Architecture

173pp including 380 illustrations. Thames and Hudson. £7.

The postwar decades have been a vigorous period of parish church building. This is certainly so in respect of the quantity, and occasionally of the quality, of liturgical architecture. Reinhard Gieselmann's book is a good guide to an important part of this process.

Contemporary Church Architecture is excellently produced. It consists of a short introductory survey of the development of twentieth-century church building, followed by a detailed presentation of some fifty new churches built between 1960 and 1970 in a dozen countries. This represents a fair selection of interesting buildings of many denominations in a wide range of countries. The text is in English and German throughout, the illustrations are of high quality and the book has been very well designed. The one noticeable defect is that the documentation is disappointingly thin.

As Professor of Housing Design at the Technische Hochschule in Vienna, and as the architect of a substantial concrete church centre at Bernhausen, it is understandable that the author is biased towards architectural planning and construction. However, he has a good knowledge of the Liturgical Movement and of the Church's current reassessment of its role in the world, and hence, of the kind of buildings which it now requires.

The introductory essay presents evidence enough that Professor Gieselmann has a comprehensive grasp of the problems confronting a self-critical religious institution which is declining in an expanding, secularized and alienated population. He sees modern technology as a major factor in modern man's disorientation and possible re-orientation:

> Technology is indeed a means of creating faith in progress. With the growth of technology the need for religion has diminished. . . . The question is whether technology is able to promote religion, whether certain aspects or consequences of technology can be compensated by religion and, mainly, whether religion is necessary in the life of the technocratic society.

Professor Gieselmann is inclined to answer this question in terms of community: the Church may find a renewed role as "a medium capable of forming a community" in a dehumanized desert created by the application of modern mass-techniques to industry, commerce, town-planning and housing. Another outcome of technological advance would be the increase of leisure time for vast numbers who have difficulty in knowing how to use it; in this vacuum groups of believers "may be able to make new positive contributions to modern society". But this, too, involves a reorientation of the Church's understanding of itself:

> If, for example, the Christian religions [*sic*] have hitherto seen their primary task as a pursuit of the transcendental, this task is nowadays more and more replaced by a religiosity more clearly orientated to earthly matters.

Taking into account growing toleration and ecumenism, the author goes on to explicate the effect of these underlying changes in ecclesiology on the design of churches from the turn of the century to the 1960s.

Starting from the "concrete-gothic" of St Jean de Mo[ntmartre] and the "eccentric go[thic]" Sagrada Familia (Barcelona), Professor Gieselmann skilfully [traces] the development through [such im]portant churches as Notre [Dame du] Raincy, St Antonius (Basel), [Fron]leichnamskirche (Aachen), [Notre] Dame du Haut (Ronchamp), [Chi]cago Institute of Te[chnology] Chapel, and SS Philip and [James], Hodge Hill (Birmingham). [In] this introductory survey it is [...] appreciate the three main [...] development: first, the [...] modern construction techn[iques ...] build an "anti-style" [...] box for traditional [...]; secondly, the impact of the [Litur]gical Movement with its [...] upon the corporate nature [...] cultus leading to building [...] shapes in which it is po[ssible for] clergy and people to gather [round] the altar; thirdly, the gr[owing inte]gration of communal activi[ties] with the worship-room [...] emergence of the multi[-purpose] church centre.

The (anonymous) transl[ation is] acceptable, though an [...] word gets an off-target [...] e.g. in context *Religiosität* is [not the] same as "religiosity" and [...] better translated by "[...] belief" or "religious con[...]". The original German edition [was] published in 1970, but during [the] past three years there have [been] some interesting developments [in] church design which, obvio[usly, are] not included: for instance, [the Bir]ham joint Anglican-Roman [Catholic] church centre near Slough. [It] would have been appreciated [...] effect that really up-to-date [...] tion should be sought in s[uch per]iodicals as *Art d'Eglise* and [*Kunst*] *und Kirche*. Since some readers [may] want to visit some of the c[hurches], fuller and more precise info[rmation] about location would have [been] helpful.

Post-aristocratic

[...] BROGAN:

[Tocque]ville

[...] Collins/Fontana. Paperback,

[...] wish to work on Tocqueville [...] is an immediate and real [...]. Do you devote the greater [part of] your life to this task, use the [materi]al which is being gradually [and] efficiently published under the [...] editorship of J. P. Mayer, [...] complete the large and [de]finitive book that no one else [has ...]? Or do you write a short [book,] hoping that with something [of a] Tocquevillian perception you [will reve]al sides to this ever-interest[ing man] which a host of existing com[mentator]s have so far failed to show? [Mr B]rogan has not only opted for [the short] book, but for the moment he [has cho]sen to write a very short book. [...] is it that he has not even the [space to] explain all his references. [We] are told that Gide's school[...] damns him with faint praise, [but we a]re not told what they said; [we] are told that a Tocquevillian [phrase] was invented for General [de Gaulle] however in his presidential [campaign] of 1952 and revived by Mr [...] for his own campaign of 1968, [but we] are not told what it was and [we have] to make do with the [...] reflection that "anything [is bett]er than presenting yourself [to the] voters without a handy [Tocque]ville quote at your hip".

[Mr Br]ogan writes engagingly. He [is] neat, amusing (although [with] some repetition). He is also [...], suggests that he will be [happy if] he succeeds only in persuad[ing the r]eader to turn to Tocqueville's [works], and, when he praises [Tocquevil]le's natural gifts as an his[torian wh]o can survey the process [of centur]ies in a few pages, he re[minds us th]an to try to summarize [his r]emarks. He is enthusiastic, [...] *La Démocratie en* [*Amérique*] as the best book ever writ[ten on] America, recommending the [...] of the *Souvenirs* in one [...] at most two, and claiming [that *L'*]*Ancien Régime et la Révolu*[*tion* sh]ows that the author's literary [...] had increased with the pass[ing of the ye]ars and that this book is the [...] substantially valid interpreta[tion of] the great convulsion that we [call the] Revolution".

[This i]s not to say that Mr Brogan [does no]t point out how, on occa[sion,] Tocqueville was short on facts, or how his objectivity is, on examination, less impressive than it at first appears, or how he often fails to define his terms. Mr Brogan also suggests, somewhat surprisingly in view of his own tendency to do just this, that to discuss an author in terms of supporting or attacking a particular book is not a satisfactory method.

It seems likely that the reader will profit from Mr Brogan's enthusiasm, both for Tocqueville and for the ideals of liberty, and will be attracted by the neatness with which Tocqueville's thought is organized and presented. We are told that distaste for the revolution of 1830 was one of the reasons why Tocqueville went to America; there this aristocrat, who had seen that the aristocracy was finished in France, understood that equality was the outstanding fact both of American society and of European history, and he preached the need for accepting this situation; but the 1848 revolution and the 1851 coup d'état showed that there was a great social and political predicament still at the heart of France; the desire to understand this predicament, and how it had come about, led to Tocqueville's study of the Ancien Régime, but he was still, essentially, trying to persuade his readers (and himself) to cooperate with the coming democratic era. It is his obsession with equality, says Mr Brogan, that is the key to Tocqueville.

There are moments when he comes dangerously near to a re-writing of Tocqueville, and on one occasion he admits that he is making his author say something much more explicitly in paraphrase than he ever did originally. Of course, it is true that Tocqueville was preoccupied with the need to discover, among the apparent diversity of human affairs, "un petit nombre de faits générateurs dont tous les autres découlent". He wanted to use, in studying America, the methods which Guizot had used in studying the history of European civilization. It is therefore legitimate to point to certain key ideas in the work of Tocqueville himself. But the more that one reads about Tocqueville in his correspondence, the more one is struck by the number and variety of his projects, the breadth of his interests, the complexity of his responses. It is more difficult now than it was to reduce Tocqueville to one or two key ideas. In that sense we are coming to a truer appreciation of his greatness.

[R]e-conquest

[...]BURY:

[France: T]he Insecure Peace [From] Versailles to the Great [Depressio]n. 151pp.

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[Some] of the photographs are par[ticularly] striking: Lloyd George in[structing] Briand in the arts of golf [on a fa]mous occasion at Cannes, [Édouar]d Herriot looking every inch [the pro]vincial politician that he was, [the readi]ng room at the Action Fran[çaise sh]owing the banners which had [been ca]ptured from the Communists [and So]cialists, Parisians studying the [mo]bilization orders in the Place [...]. There are many cartoons, including the Bib drawing of [a] willowy Léon Blum, and the [...] drawing of the occasion in [1926 wh]en it seemed that there was [...] Poincaré left in the safe.

The texts are neat, clear and direct. It is difficult to fault J. P. T. Bury, who shows characteristic shrewdness in choosing the important things to say. It is a pity that he should twice accuse Poincaré of being unimaginative, all the more so since he suggests that it was this lack of imagination which prevented him from exploiting his victory in the Ruhr; it can be argued that it was because he was over-imaginative that he shrank from attempting to dictate terms to Germany.

But if he falls into a customary error by being over-critical of Poincaré, Mr Bury avoids what is often the concomitant tendency to overpraise Briand's foreign policy, and he suggests that we should have no illusions about the euphoria which that vague and impressionistic statesman helped to create. (Incidentally, it was, of course, in 1925 not in 1926 that Austen Chamberlain announced the British rejection of the Protocol, and Pagnol's Christian name is not Marius.)

Wilfrid Knapp also succeeds in a formidable task of compression, especially since he chooses to devote a large amount of space to general European diplomacy. But one has the impression that he is not always interested in France and he moves impatiently over such episodes as M Flandin's Government, which he could well have examined with more care since it is revealing of political attitudes; most surprising of all, he passes over the military episodes of the 1940 defeat without any analysis or discussion. He is unjust about Léon Blum and devaluation, and misleading in his account of the Communist Party's adherence to the Popular Front. It is difficult to be enthusiastic about such a general, and not very thoughtful, account of these crucial years in French history.

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A History of the Engineering Employers' Federation

326pp. Macmillan. £2.50.

The history of industrial relations in this country has been amply documented from the side of labour, with both general labour histories and accounts of individual unions well in evidence. Relatively little, however, has appeared on the employers' side of the story. In producing this scholarly and highly readable account of the Engineering Employers' Federation, Eric Wigham, for long a distinguished labour correspondent of *The Times*, has made a valuable contribution towards a more balanced interpretation of British labour history.

The Federation is much the largest and most important organization of its kind in Britain, with a current membership of nearly 5,000 firms employing more than 2 million workers. Its origins go back to the early days of permanent trade unionism in engineering, to which the Federation was eventually established as a counterweight. In a sequence of contests with the engineers' union, the collective lockouts enforced by the employers were basically concerned with the principle of the prerogative of managers to control their own works. The Federation itself emerged in permanent form after the six-month lockout of 1897-98, and it dominated the engineering scene down to 1914. Its three main functions were to maintain the prerogative of the power to manage, to prevent firms from being picked off individually by the unions, and to find means of keeping industrial peace.

The growth in this century of national wages bargaining and threats of national stoppages, together with increased government intervention in industrial relations, have changed and complicated the Federation's role, and particularly so since the Second World War. Further problems have arisen from the organization of white-collar workers in the engineering industry. The most recent developments—the unions going for bargains with individual firms, and the effects of the Industrial Relations Act on the unions' position—have put the clock back, at least for the present, to the later part of the last century.

Mr Wigham's story ends in April 1972 with a perceptive discussion of the present obstacles to successful collective action by the employers. He points out that most of the issues are now concerned with wages, which vary widely in the engineering industry, while the old matter of general principle which first drew the employers together—manning of machines, restrictions on overtime, the closed shop—are now regarded as the business of individual firms. The balance of power has shifted in favour of the unions, with the employers under constant pressure from both government and their own financial weakness to avoid expensive stoppages. Meanwhile the Federation has tried to develop new policies aimed at creating a more cooperative climate in which shared responsibility may replace conflict. If these policies succeed, the author concludes, "the next history of the Federation may not be about the employers' power to manage, but his power to lead."

Them that hath

A. B. ATKINSON:

Unequal Shares
Wealth in Britain

279pp. Allen Lane. £3.

Professor A. B. Atkinson's *Unequal Shares* is not an epoch-making or path-breaking book but it is a useful one, and it shows that at Cambridge (where Professor Atkinson did most of the reading and thinking that is shown here), Professor Prest's useful and sensible way of looking at the problems of public finance, derived through Keynes from Pigou, is vigorously continued. There is no excuse now for ignorance of the facts and for prescriptions that might derive from distaste for the facts.

It is surprising, nevertheless, how few facts there are. The research on inherited wealth which Wedgwood and Stamp suggested has not taken place, though it would be as revealing as the study of inherited characteristics. The distribution of wealth is less unequal than most crude statistics suggest, because the assets of the lower income classes are understated, and because, if wealth is accumulated throughout life, older groups are bound to own more assets than younger ones. Further, Professor Atkinson considers only privately-held assets; yet the state owns a large proportion of the national assets, and much of the rest is held by insurance companies and superannuation funds. Even so, the inequalities in wealth are striking and far greater than inequalities of income, though even these are large.

There are two points which need attention. The first is that the relationship between "satisfaction" and "income" is complex and neglected. The notion of income, though statistically clear enough, is bound up with the idea that it is a compensation for the unpleasantness of work, which gives it a rather fuzzy character. Wealth is not clearly distinguished from income, because it can occasionally be "melted" to give claims on consumption. One purpose of wealth, therefore, is to provide security against loss of income, as well as its obvious purpose to give a measure of control over aspects of society and the economy.

The argument for equality is therefore partly a question of access to control of the economic system, a question usually subsumed under arguments for public ownership and control, and partly a question of freedom from anxiety about the loss of income, through sickness, unemployment and old age, and about the ability to make major purchases (of a house, a car or a small business). Professor Atkinson throws out some hints in this direction but shows few signs that he has thought this out; but seen in this light wealth and income are indissolubly linked when equalization is in question.

Professor Atkinson recognizes this in his discussion of the effect on consumption of proposals for redistributing claims on wealth. If shares were given to the poor, for example, they might sell some to raise their consumption; so the distribution of shares would have to be accompanied by measures to reduce the consumption of the rich. Professor Atkinson is helpful about this, though he is occasionally slack, as in the case of the possible emigration of wealth holders; wealth has meaning only if it represents actual or potential claims on income or assets, and an emigré with only paper assets will soon be driving taxis or washing dishes as the Russian aristocrats did in Paris.

In any case, Professor Atkinson concludes that there are no powerful arguments from the effects on savings, on attitudes to work, or on culture against greater equality of capital. He therefore examines wealth taxes, and the section in which he does this is the best in the book. He applies the ordinary canons of public finance to taxes on income from wealth, on wealth, and on transfers of wealth. After a section on international comparisons, comes a discussion of how far present taxation is avoidable. It is notorious that estate duties have had little impact in diminishing wealth concentration, and that a reasonably efficient capitalist who likes his family is able to minimize his tax liability. It seems that discretionary trusts, the ownership of woodlands, and gifts *inter vivos* lead to a saving of estate duty as big as that which is actually paid. The payment is dependent upon adequate tax advice and the present situation simply brings the law into discredit.

Professor Atkinson undertakes a full survey of a wealth tax, which, as NEDC suggested, will soon have to be introduced if the current pattern of taxation and incomes legislation is to make sense, and he finds it to be entirely practicable though expensive to operate. Here he probably exaggerates the total cost by studying the costs of introduction of the tax; on a day-to-day basis it would be far more economical.

He shows that the usual ap[...] that it would reduce saving[...] valid, and that it would allow [...] taxation to be reduced (or [...] penditure to be increased). [...] effect of a wealth tax on [...] wealth distribution depends [...] rates and what taxes it [...] place. A wealth tax alone [...] enough; it needs to be linked [...] heritance taxes: and Professor [...] son suggests that it should [...] linked to a realistic capital [...] which could perhaps even [...] alternative to the wealth tax [...] Certainly a capital gains tax [...] have caught property specula[...]

This brings us to a weakness [...] book: its disregard of [...] property. Surely this is the [...] divide in present society—[...] those who own their own [...] those who do not. Professor At[...] deliberately leaves this on [...] as he does the question of [...] order to deal with a more [...] range of questions. His own [...] tion is for a lifetime capital [...] tax, a capital gains tax equal [...] rent income tax rates, and [...] guarding of pensions against [...] tion together with a capital [...] pensioners, similar to the [...] sum" that teachers and other[...] when they retire.

So the conclusion of [...] *Shares* is that greater equ[...] capital ownership is desirable [...] that a series of small practical [...] to achieve that end is possible.

SET and match

W. B. REDDAWAY and others:

Effects of Selective Employment Tax Final Report

275pp. Cambridge University Press. £4. (paperback, £2.20).

W. B. Reddaway is a remarkably competent and sympathetic economist. He is highly trained in the tradition of Marshall and Keynes and is fully aware of the complexities and subtleties of the reasoning which underlies economic judgments. He allies to this complex understanding of difficult and abstruse theory a remarkable gift for applied economics—"applied" in both senses, dealing with statistics and quantities—and also in seeing the reality that lies behind the statistics and quantities. The subtlety and complexity of his judgments, together with his robust realism, contrast most effectively with the kind of reasoning which has been adopted by members of the school of economics who have persistently acted as economic advisers to the government. Professor Reddaway is not one of those who are preoccupied with short-term forecasting. He seeks rather to understand pragmatically and agnostically how the economy works.

His two books on the analysis of the Selective Employment Tax are therefore of as great a significance as the tax itself was. In this "Final Report" he suggests that the tax had positive effects in raising the productivity of the retail trades, and also argues that it may have had some effect in the shake-out of manpower and the shift to manufacturing from retailing. But the conclusions drawn from an argument about a tax which was ephemeral are not necessarily the most important parts of the books. These lie chiefly in the methods which he and his colleagues adopted, and also in his frequent asides and the by-roads down which he and his colleagues lead us. He points out that all indirect taxes—not just the Selective Employment Tax—are discriminatory; that the attacks which were made upon the Selective Employment Tax were either beside the point because they failed to understand how it worked, or hysterical; and that in analysing the impact of tax changes a long, cool, pragmatic look is greatly to be desired.

These books are not easy to read, or easy to understand by every eager student. Yet they will for a long time remain an example of what a really good economist can do in a somewhat recondite field, and will be a notable caution to those who rush into tax changes in the hope of major immediate effects. All in all, however, it would not be too crude to say that Professor Reddaway would probably take the view that the Selective Employment Tax was on the whole a "good thing", and that its abolition will one day be regretted.

The foreman's lot

KEITH THURLEY and HANS WIRDENIUS:

Supervision: A Reappraisal

238pp. Heinemann. £5.

It is commonplace in British industry to criticize the quality of the lower supervision. Foremen, it is said, are not the same as they were years ago. They do not show the same interest in the job and they fail to control labour effectively. It is even said that foremen act, often as not, as supplementary shop stewards, pressing the views and interests of the men whom they are supposed to control. Good men refuse to accept promotion to a supervisor's job.

The supervisors themselves usually have a different point of view. They complain that they are neglected by top management, and that their disciplinary powers have been undermined by a long period of near full employment, by the strengthening of trade unionism, and by the growth of more democratic styles of management. They also point to the growth of various specialized departments which have taken over many of their traditional functions—the production control, time study, planning and progress, personnel, industrial relations and welfare departments do various things which used to be their responsibility. What is left to them other than acting as a buffer between management and labour?

Keith Thurley and Hans Wirdenius, basing themselves on research done in Sweden and Britain, challenge many of the present conceptions relating to the role of industrial supervisors. *Supervision* is a plea for the recognition of reality. Supervisors no longer [...] labour, nor, in many cases, [...] exercise a leadership [...] the kind advocated by many [...] management. A detailed [...] tion in several undertakings [...] shown that much the greater [...] their time and effort is spent [...] dealing with contingencies [...] are the men who solve [...] which arise when things [...] work out as expected by the [...] ners and the various specialist [...] partments. But this is a [...] skilled task. The authors [...] should be recognized as such [...] the supervisors should be [...] trained for it.

If this idea is accepted, the [...] role of supervisors is likely [...] increase rather than to [...] Their responsibility, far from [...] undermined by new special [...] partments, should grow. The [...] tence of more and more [...] specialist planners is likely [...] not to a lessening of their [...] to a widening of them. More [...] lems are likely to arise and [...] attention during day-to-day [...] ties on the shop floor.

The book does not answer [...] questions that are likely [...] and the authors would [...] that it does. Even though [...] modern shop supervisor is [...] marily a controller of labour [...] problem of labour discipline [...] want of a better word [...] mains. Modern thinking [...] new ways in which workers [...] motivated, but even then [...] be many who have to be [...] into activity or brought [...] line with the disciplinary [...] virtue of *Supervision* is [...] forward a conception [...] strengthen rather than [...] the role of the shop [...] this and many other fields.

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High humanism

PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER:

Renaissance Concepts of Man and other Essays

183pp. Harper and Row. Paperback, £1.65.

This is the third collection of Paul Oskar Kristeller's essays to appear in paperback, and very welcome it is. *Renaissance Thought* dealt in particular with the Aristotelian and Platonist traditions. *Renaissance Thought II* contained nine papers on specific aspects of humanism and the arts. *Renaissance Concepts of Man* marks a return to wider themes. It is a collection of seven lectures and articles dating from 1961 to 1965. They deal with many of the same questions as the earlier collections, but approach them from some new angles and offer a number of new conclusions.

Professor Kristeller does one kind of intellectual history as well as it can be done. Here, as always, he is lucid, balanced and concise. He is attentive to nuances, but without losing the larger patterns in a mass of detail. There are few historians alive who can say so much so well so briefly about such large subjects, and without demanding specialized knowledge from the reader. This book incorporates the results of much recent research, some of it by the author and his pupils, but it can be enjoyed by someone who has never previously heard of the Renaissance.

If the first essay, on "the dignity of man", says more or less what Professor Kristeller has said elsewhere on the same subject, the second, on "the immortality of the soul", comes up with some arresting conclusions. He argues that the Christian doctrine of immortality is derived not from the Bible but from Plato; that Aquinas was not much interested in the subject, and indeed that Renaissance preoccupation with it was a conscious reaction against late medieval thought. The third essay shows the possible relevance of Pomponazzi's theory of "double truth" to the concerns of philosophers today.

The two essays which follow, on the Renaissance and Byzantine learning, make many new points. Professor Kristeller is a cautious man, and when, as often in these pages, he declares that he "suspects" something or is "inclined" to believe it, the reader will know that he should take the author very seriously indeed; for example, when he suggests that in fifteenth-century Byzantium both the extreme Aristotelianism of Scholarios and the anti-Aristotelianism of Plethon were reactions to Western Thomism.

The widest questions are kept to the last. One essay is devoted to "Renaissance philosophy and the medieval tradition". There are not many scholars who would care to talk about a subject of this magnitude in one hour. Professor Kristeller deals with it magnificently, finding space to underline the plurality both of the Renaissance philosophies and of the medieval traditions. The last piece is a methodological appendix on the history of ideas and its relation to the history of philosophy, which takes contemporary philosophers to task for neglecting the history of their subject, a history which has need of their special aptitudes.

Thus Professor Kristeller's concern for the precise nuances of intellectual history does not lead him to neglect the really important questions. After making the appropriate qualifications, he is not afraid to affirm that the Renaissance involved a "tremendous expansion" of secular culture, and that humanists placed more emphasis on the dignity of man and valued individualism more highly than their medieval predecessors. After a lifetime's study of the Renaissance, he has returned to Burckhardt.

Harmonizing

R. J. W. EVANS:

Rudolf II and his World

323pp plus 16 plates. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £7.50.

R. J. W. Evans's book has been awaited with interest by students of Czech history, and what we have here is the very learned and profound product of his labours. He has ploughed through several archives, including those of Prague, Vienna and Budapest; and is familiar with all the historical documentation relevant to Central Europe. His theme is the strange and fascinating world created around himself by Rudolf II of Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor from 1576 to 1612, a man who acquired an international reputation as a patron of the arts and an equally wide-ranging notoriety as a harbourer of heretics and dabbler in the occult sciences. In his last days he became a recluse in his own castle, and on his deathbed refused the last rites of the Church.

At the centre of the canvas presented by Mr Evans is Rudolfine Prague, the jewel of Central Europe. Before the Counter-Reformation engulfed Bohemia, Prague under Rudolf became a haven for some of the most distinguished and bizarre of late Renaissance intellectuals. To Rudolf's court came scholars like Clusius, Sambucus, Kepler and Brahe, humanists like Pistorius and Dudith, adepts of the occult such as Dee, Kelley, Bruno and Maier. Beyond these men and their friends there existed a vast network of ideas, beliefs and visions that together went to make up a sort of Renaissance underworld. To comprehend adequately the true dimensions of this world to which Rudolf was Maecenas, we need to take into our field of vision such varying influences as the school of Paracelsus in Germany and the humanist circle of Plantin in Antwerp.

Mr Evans has gathered an extensive array of information about the persons and influences constituting the Rudolfine circle. He is so absorbed in the cross-fertilization of personalities that the reader is sometimes left unclear whether there was any cross-fertilization of ideas. It may be that there was very little. This would be consistent with the exceptional role of Prague in the period preceding the White Mountain, as an oasis for the most eccentric and contradictory tendencies in European humanism. The author, however, argues that "the culture of the Rudolfine age was an expression of ... essential unity" in the Bohemian lands before 1600. The use of the word "unity" is questionable, particularly in view of the variety of ideas and pressures then current in Bohemia. But Mr Evans argues that the general tendency of all these trends was towards some kind of universal harmony, and that this was the secret of Rudolf's obsessions. The occult, for example, was primarily a means towards achieving a "sacred harmony", an ordered universe; and "the notion of a universal order was an important constituent" of the Mannerist art of Rudolfine Prague.

The argument is very plausible, but would have been more convincing if presented more lucidly. The author is unable to tell his story simply; his account is very discursive, often quite obscure and allusive, and he digresses so frequently that it is difficult to follow him. Names by the score jostle confusedly for our attention. The habit of inserting in the body of the text untranslated quotations in German and Italian confirm the impression that Mr Evans intends his book to be read only by scholars who already possess a detailed knowledge of the period. Most readers will be unable to cope. They will also be given very little basic information about some of the chief characters in the book: Brahe, for example, is alluded to several times but never discussed directly. In short, this is a book of unimpeachably superior scholarship somewhat marred by inadequate presentation; and this is all the more to be regretted since there is so much here that is new, illuminating and provocative.

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Slavophile

PETER K. CHRISTOFF:
An Introduction to Nineteenth-Century Russian Slavophilism
Volume II: I. V. Kireevskij
406p. The Hague: Mouton. 68 fl.

Hard on the heels of Abbott Gleason's recent study of Ivan Kireevsky (*TLS*, February 16) comes this long-awaited study of the same thinker by Peter Christoff, the second volume of his massive study of nineteenth-century Russian Slavophilism. Mr Christoff's first volume, on A. S. Khomyakov, appeared in 1961, and what began as an introduction to the Kireevsky volume saw the light of day as a separate monograph in 1970 as *The Third Heart: Some Intellectual-Ideological Currents in Russia, 1800-1830*. The present book contains numerous references to these earlier volumes, and also looks ahead on occasions to the volumes on Konstantin Aksakov and Yury Samarin which are to follow it. The finished work promises to be a remarkably thorough, and possibly exhaustive survey of a major area of nineteenth-century Russian thought, deliberately but inexcusably neglected by Soviet scholars.

If Mr Gleason's book was primarily a biographical study which traced the development of Slavophile doctrine by drawing upon Kireevsky's letters, diaries and journals, Mr Christoff's monograph, like the earlier one on Khomyakov, is essentially a study in ideas, not in biography, although it follows the pattern of its predecessor in being divided into two parts, the first devoted to pertinent biographical information and the second more specifically to the ideas and ideological content of Kireevsky's work. In the first part Mr Christoff attempts, in his own words, "to locate the main signposts in Kireevsky's intellectual and ideological development", while in the second he concentrates on Kireevsky's views after he passed firmly into the Slavophile camp.

Reference was made in our review of Mr Gleason's book to his debt to and independence of the important monograph of Eberhard Müller on Kireevsky, published in 1966. It is one of the curious and regrettable features of Mr Christoff's work that, because of a long delay in publication, both this volume and *The Third Heart* have few references to works published since 1965. While he makes some use of Müller's publication of Kireevsky's diary for the early 1850s, he has little or nothing to say on the monograph; and the important new material in articles by two Soviet scholars, M. I. Gillelson and L. G. Frizman, is only briefly recorded in a footnote. This apart, however, Mr Christoff's scholarship is admirably thorough, and since his grasp of the mental universe of the Slavophiles and their agreements and disagreements is firmer and more comprehensive than that of either Müller or Gleason, his overall picture adds considerably to theirs and is ultimately more satisfactory.

In this context Mr Christoff's most substantial contribution is his determined exploration of Kireevsky's theology. It has long been recognized that much of Kireevsky's thought derived from two sources: Western Romanticism and Schellingism on the one hand, and Eastern Orthodoxy as formulated in the writings of the Orthodox fathers, on the other. The first has received a great deal of attention in the literature about the Slavophiles in general and about Kireevsky in particular. While both Müller and Gleason recognized the theological background in Kireevsky's opposition to Western rationalism, their real interest lay in their examination of his relationship to German philosophy, and although Mr Gleason noted that in the later part of his life Kireevsky was deeply involved with Orthodoxy and the Early Church Fathers, he did not seriously pursue it as a line of inquiry. Mr Christoff is in no doubt that although in his early life Kireevsky found certain Western Romantic notions congenial, "the moving force in the formation of his philosophy was patristic Orthodoxy", and he explores at length and in detail Kireevsky's immersion in patristic Orthodoxy and Hesychast spirituality and his negative attitude towards Western philosophy.

Moreover, while making it amply clear that the founders of Moscow Slavophilism were dilettantes and not professional philosophers, theologians, historians or literary critics, and while stressing that Kireevsky never got beyond a sketch of his philosophical orientation and that his hopes of writing a "Russian philosophy" did not materialize until the last six years of his life, Mr Christoff gives us a series of neat summary accounts of Kireevsky's views on philosophical and theological matters, on Western culture and Russian history, and on literary, political and economic questions. He avoids the temptation of making Kireevsky a more consistent thinker than he was, and indeed emphasizes that the Slavophiles were expounding an orientation that was highly complex and occasionally contradictory.

The other principal area in which Mr Christoff adds to the work of his predecessors is in his account of Kireevsky's relationship to his fellow Slavophiles and in his exploration of Slavophile agreements and disagreements. Here he covers some familiar ground as, for example, when he shows that Kireevsky was more conservative than either Khomyakov or his lifelong friends Alexander Koshelyov in his attitude towards emancipation of the serfs and government censorship at the end of the 1840s, but he also makes many thoughtful, perceptive and novel points. He challenges the widespread view that Kireevsky was the founder of Slavophilism, arguing that neither in terms of chronology nor in terms of the essence of Slavophilism could he have been the founder, since both Peter Kireevsky and Khomyakov had sensed where Slavophilism was to be sought while Ivan himself was still far from the Slavophile point of view. While arguing that Ivan Kireevsky's Westernism, as a conscious orientation, was merely skin-deep and brief in duration, he suggests that the passion with which both Slavophiles and Westerners threw themselves into the ideological polemics of the mid-1840s has long served to obscure the true beliefs of both camps, and maintains that Slavophile messianism was not basically an anti-Western stand and did not involve an idealization of pre-Petrine Russia.

Mr Christoff's own Slavophile passion occasionally surfaces, as in his severe verdict on Chaadayev's "heavily negative role and positive sterility in Russian ideological life in the crucial 1830s", but in general this is a thoughtful and discriminating study, displaying an impressive familiarity with Slavophile writings. One looks forward with eager anticipation to the next volumes and to Mr Christoff's final summation of Slavophilism as an ideology.

The first Fronde

A. LLOYD MOOTE:
The Revolt of the Judges
407pp. Princeton University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £7.

SAL ALEXANDER WESTRICH:
The Ormée of Bordeaux
160pp. Johns Hopkins Press (IBEG). £4.50.

A. Lloyd Moote's book is an important addition to a rapidly growing list of good studies of French seventeenth-century history by American historians. On the basis of a considerable research into French archives, he presents an interpretation of what is usually known as the *Fronde parlementaire* which is refreshingly independent of recent controversies about a "general crisis" and the vertical or horizontal structuring of French society. Mr Moote is an old-fashioned historian: he is interested mainly in political and constitutional issues. Friends of *Annales* will be disappointed by his book, which offers no graphs of bread prices, no population statistics. Yet, if Mr Moote's view of the Fronde is too restricted for some tastes, it remains both valid and important.

He takes his cue from Ernst Kossmann, who in 1954 stressed the loyalty of the sovereign courts, especially the Parlement, to royal absolutism. But unlike Kossmann, who denied that the first Fronde was or could be a revolution, he adopts Madelin's dictum that it was "une révolution manquée". Admittedly it was not a movement comparable with the Great Rebellion on this side of the Channel, but it had a positive programme of action. The aim of the judges of the sovereign courts, according to Mr Moote, was to check the "revolution in government" which Louis XIII had initiated. This consisted of a many-sided attack on the prestige, functions and wealth of the judicial and financial office-holders, whom the Crown had itself created through the venality of offices.

Whereas historians have tended to gloss over the events of the first five years of Anne of Austria's regency, Mr Moote believes that they hold the key to a correct understanding of the Fronde. While the royal administration, particularly the finance minister, d'Emery, pressed on with the "revolution in government" in a ham-fisted way, the Parlement hit upon methods of opposing the regime without challenging royal absolutism as such. These methods were essentially a compromise between conservative judges, like the first president, Molé, and radical ones, like Broussel—hence the phrase *via media* applied by Mr Moote to the Parlement's strategy.

Mr Moote does not share the contempt of many historians for the judges. Their *via media*, in his view, was eminently successful in extorting from the Regent a number of reforms in 1648 which, if properly implemented, would have reversed "the revolution in government". The extra-legal agencies of the central government were abolished, arbitrary imprisonment was somewhat curtailed, taxes were subjected to institutional approval and the legal powers of the king's councils circumscribed. Unfortunately, the Regent neither could nor would carry out the reforms she had conceded. When the Parlement reacted to her evasions, she resorted to force. The court retired to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, leaving Paris to be besieged by Condé. Thus it was the government, not the Parlement, which provoked the civil war.

The siege of Paris created serious problems for the Parlement. How, for instance, could it reconcile its policy of *via media* with the military exigencies of the new situation? The great nobles, who flocked to Paris to offer the judges their military assistance, wanted them to be more aggressive. But, in spite of enormous provocation from the Regent, who rashly branded them as traitors, the judges remained on the path of moderation, and as a consequence they were again successful, when the threat of a new Spanish invasion obliged the Regent to reach a settlement with them at Rueil.

While Anne was given only slight financial support for the ... Spain, the reforms of 1648 ... virtually intact and the ... the judges was upheld. The weakness of the settlement, ... Moote's opinion, was its fa... accommodate the interests ... *grands*, who wanted governm... sinecures and pensions. By ... ing its erstwhile allies the ... ment ensured that the ... noble Fronde would be more ... than the first.

Although it is customary ... that the Parlement played a ... tively insignificant part in the ... Fronde, Mr Moote shows that ... tinued to be influential th... consistent adherence to the ... of *via media*. He even sugge... the final settlement of 1652 ... a crushing defeat for the p... tary Fronde: the concessi... torted from the judges at the ... *justice* of October 22 did not ... structure of government. In ... sion of powers remained, ... Parlement was still able to ... royal absolutism without ... it.

It is at this point, perhaps ... Mr Moote's pleading shows ... strain. One cannot easily ... from the evidence that after ... Parlement was reduced to a ... of its former self. Indeed, Mr ... admits that in the long term ... lementary Fronde ended ... "victory-in-defeat", or sh... call it "peace with honour"?

Mr Moote does not exclude ... vincial manifestations of the ... from his exhaustive survey, ... interested in them only so far ... relate to his main theme. ... rightly points out, many of the ... indigenous causes. This ... cially true of the Fronde ... deaux, where the Ormée, ... ment of artisans, shopkeepers ... petty officials, seized power ... and allied with Condé against ... the Crown and the local Par... Sal Alexander Westrich gives ... teresting, well-documented ... of this movement, but he is ... to come out in support of Po... Marxist interpretation of the ... that the uniqueness of the ... upheaval is not explained.

Italy's trauma

JUDITH HOOK:
The Sack of Rome, 1527
343pp. Macmillan. £6.

The past few years have seen the rise of a new historical genre, the book devoted to one striking but brief historical event. Outstanding examples are the late Garrett Mattingly on the defeat of the Spanish Armada and Steven Runciman on the fall of Constantinople. Judith Hook's treatment of the events of 1527 is not as masterly as Mattingly on 1588 or Runciman on 1453, but her book is still a useful contribution to our knowledge of Italian history. It is a thorough and scholarly piece of work in which the minor inaccuracies (the battle of Rocroi was fought in 1643, not 1648; Raphael's engraver was Raimondi, not Rainaudi) may simply be printer's errors.

Although it has grown out of a doctoral thesis the book has been made intelligible to the general reader. The narrative of the events leading up to and following the sack is smooth and clear. The necessary background information about the social structure of Rome or the political organisation of the Papal States is unobtrusively filled in. Good use is made of a number of contemporary accounts of the sack, such as that of Francesco Vettori, or, best of all, the inside story presented by a merchant, Marcello Alberini. Dr Hook is particularly interested in contemporary reactions to the sack, which she describes, fairly enough, as a "traumatic experience" for Italians. For some, it was an exemplum illustrating the mutability of fortune; for others, it was God's judgment on the sins of the Papacy.

This concentration on the contemporary Italian point of view certainly makes the book more colourful. Where it is less satisfactory is exactly where contemporary accounts are less satisfactory, and that is on two issues: the relative scale of the disaster and its consequences. Dr Hook presents her conclusions but offers relatively little analysis leading to them.

Recent research on the Thirty Years' War has shown that contemporaries tended to exaggerate the scale of the disaster, and the same may be true of the sack of Rome. There is no doubt that when Charles V's army sacked Rome many people were killed, much property was destroyed and many atrocities were committed; some, possibly, by the Romans themselves—the moment was an ideal one for settling old scores. However, it is difficult to be more precise; as Dr Hook admits, "it is impossible to tell how many died in the sack". Contemporaries claimed that "Hell itself was a more beautiful sight to behold" than Rome afterwards, and that Charles's troops behaved worse than the Goths when they took Rome or the Turks when they took Constantinople. But none of these comparisons were based on personal experience. Italians are often prone to exaggeration, and it remains far from certain whether the disasters suffered by the Romans in 1527 were really out of the ordinary by the standards of the time. Where armies were involved, atrocities were normal in early modern Europe. The troops who took part in the sack were, as usual in the sixteenth century, hungry and unpaid. More realistic comparisons than those with the Goths or Turks might be made with the sack of Como in 1521 and the sack of Antwerp in 1576, again the work of unpaid troops. Yet these events have not gone down to history in quite the same way as the sack of Rome. Did the Romans really suffer more than the others, or did the symbolic importance of the capital of Christendom affect the judgments and the memories of contemporaries? Dr Hook does not ask this question.

If it is difficult to be precise about the damage done ... Imperial troops, it is still ... assess the consequences of ... with any exactitude; but ... Dr Hook tends towards ... tion. She has little to say ... economic consequences, ... fact that by January ... population had been halved ... how soon was it before ... recovered its former num... had contained about 54,000 ... before the sack, but by ... contained more than ... does not look as if the ... economic consequences of the ... were serious ones. Dr Hook ... sizes the cultural consequen... destruction of works of art ... death and dispersal of ... writers. The point was ... making, but perhaps ... adding that, from a gener... point of view, the dis... artists was not an unrelie... ter. Rome's loss was Venice's ... Aretino, Sebastiano del ... others found refuge there.

Dr Hook devotes most ... the political consequences ... sack. In the papal states ... ter "interrupted a process ... good government had been ... developing". In Florence ... tocrats led a rebellion ... Medici rule as soon as the ... the sack of Rome arrived ... consequences were short ... soon followed by the re... papal and Medici ... Hook believes that the sack ... long-term political ... that it "destroyed the ... Italy", leaving the Emper... later the Spanish, ... peninsula. Here she ... firm ground. It took ... more hard fighting before ... tlement of Cateau-Cambrésis ... established the Spaniards ... Naples and Sicily, and ... discussion of the difficult... way of a league between ... powers against the Emperor ... years before 1527 suggests ... unity of Italy was simply ... to be destroyed.

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...Percival's account of the trials ... triumphs of these talented ... men is scholarly and ... It might be argued ... the book is awkwardly con... She has strung together ... biographies of the headmasters ... slender thread of the calling ... Headmasters' Conference; ... the structure is weak, the ... full of interest.

...the 1770s the unchallenged ... schools of England were the ... triad of Eton, Westminster ... Winchester. Rugby was still ... and-local"; Harrow was ... beginning to gain a wider ... Other schools struggled ... with small numbers, decaying plant and unimaginative trustees. A century later, the public schools, as they were now called, were booming. The prestige of the ancient foundations and of their "lesser and more pernicious imitators" (as Bernard Shaw unkindly called them) was high. The golden age of the English Public School had begun.

This revival of fortunes is popularly attributed to Thomas Arnold of Rugby. It is one of the virtues of Dr Percival's study that it places the celebrated Doctor in the context of the work and achievement of other headmasters of the period, and attempts a little unmalicious demythologizing. It was Thomas James, not Arnold, who launched Rugby on its career as a great school, and it was a combination of the right men and the right circumstances rather than the influence of a single headmaster that "changed the face of the public schools of England". But Arnold enjoyed the good luck without which lasting fame is seldom possible. If *Tom Brown's Schooldays* had been set in Butler's Shrewsbury or Vaughan's Harrow the public schools might now have a different patron saint.

Dr Percival does recognize Arnold's real achievements: he did little to reform the organization or the curriculum, but he did put new heart into the public schools. It was not the reality of Arnold's Rugby but the image that inspired the next generation of headmasters. These men were not all great headmasters. In a few cases there was genuine vision; in many others there was at least sufficient astuteness to catch the tide that was running in favour of boarding school education. One of the visionaries was Edward Thring. Like Arnold, Thring was a charismatic figure far removed from the group leaders who now gather at the Headmasters' Conference. He was determined to give every boy a chance to find fulfilment, if not in the classroom or on the rugby field, then in the orchestra, the carpentry shop or the gymnasium. He also laid down standards that modern headmasters can only view with envy. He insisted that the maximum number of boys in a house should be thirty-three, on the ground that a housemaster could not give proper pastoral care to any more. In all this he established the one effective relationship between the headmaster and the Governing Body: he was an energetic and determined dog pulling his master into unfamiliar territory.

Thring was at Uppingham from 1853 to 1887, but his influence was much wider than the bounds of one school. Though the Headmasters' Conference was not his idea, his support and interest brought the idea to life. The great schools were excluded from the first meetings because they were not concerned with the Taunton Commission or the Endowed Schools Bill of 1869. In the circumstances, Thring was relieved to find that the headmasters who did attend were "very superior men". Dr Percival gives a biographical sketch of each. They were all responsible for the expanding numbers and reputation of their own schools; when the official school history came to be written they were given the place of honour.

In one important sense, however, they failed. Their success in attracting pupils and extending reputation should have encouraged them to develop their schools along individual lines but, instead, the schools were marked by an increasingly uninspired uniformity. Of Dr Welldon, the headmaster of Tonbridge from 1843 to 1875, Dr Percival comments that he gave the school "a chapel, prefects, an Old Boys Association, a school magazine, a cricket XI with colours ...". The dead hand of good form and team spirit was being placed on schools that should have cherished enterprise and individuality. The individual was suppressed by a society that dictated the numbers of buttons that must be fastened and the precise angle of the straw hat. It has taken 100 years for the grip of conformity to be loosened, if not finally broken.

Dr Percival closes her fascinating account of the very superior men by posing a question about the future of the Headmasters' Conference. Its members might do worse than contemplate why it was that the independence of mind that should characterize a well-educated man was for so long discouraged by the public schools and kept alive, if at all, by the triad of Eton, Westminster and Winchester, where the nineteenth century had brought few reforms, little enthusiasm for organized games and no charismatic headmasters.

Rugby's dynasty

MERIOL TREVOR:
The Arnolds
206pp. Bodley Head. £2.

Straight away Meriol Trevor establishes it that the Arnolds were a rumbustious family: "they might be obstinate, might be pugnacious but they were not gloomy". So much for the grim prig of a headmaster in *Eminent Victorians*, though for an estimate of Thomas Arnold at once more rounded and less rosy we must go back a few years to David Newsome's *Godliness and Good Learning*. Readers grateful for much that is provided here with scholarly care and a pleasing humanity will still be greedy for more: the family tree might be fuller, showing at once, for instance, where the Huxleys come in, and more could have been made of the Celtic heritage from Mrs Arnold (Mary Penrose, sister of Arnold's Oxford friend, Trevenen Penrose, and a niece by marriage of Mrs Markham). It was to her that in *Bonnet and Shawl* Philip Guedalla gave most of the credit for "creating a patch of homely decency" at Rugby in contrast to other public schools of the day. Guedalla also quoted the devoted Tom Hughes, who was typical of many other pupils when he wrote in terms so incongruous today:

> Many is the brave heart now doing its work and bearing its load in country curacies, London Chambers, under the Indian sun and in Australian towns and clearings, which looks back with fond and grateful memory to the School House drawing-room and dates much of its highest and best training to the lessons learnt there.

Dr Arnold established the public school ethos of character-building first (the stiff upper lip more important than brains). On religious matters he was a Modernist before his time, even willing to share the Anglican pulpit with Dissenters, and he wanted more emphasis to be placed on the Church's social role. In this last ideal he was followed by his second son, Tom, who lost and recovered his faith with the regularity of the clerical father in Rose Macaulay's novel, *Told by an Idiot*, involving his wife and family in similar vicissitudes and poverty. It was appropriate that his daughter, Mary (Mrs Humphry Ward) should make a bestseller out of the subject in *Robert Elsmere*. Without a taste for theological controversy and sympathy with the heart-burnings of Victorian Doubt, it is difficult to be totally gripped by the chapters concerning Tom, except for one great consolation they afford—a glimpse amid the encircling gloom of the charismatic figure of Cardinal Newman, all sweetness and light.

Then, impatiently, we come to Matthew, called Matt or Crab at home, the children's nicknames indicating what a close-knit and affectionate family the Arnolds were. As a child he had a weak leg which was put in an iron but his parents, characteristically against doctor's orders, took off the instrument of torture and by the time he went to Oxford Matt was a dandy. He was still elegant in appearance and a little flippant in manner when introduced to Charlotte Brontë, who disapproved of him at first but on further acquaintance had to admit that he had "genuine intellectual aspiration". His underlying seriousness could not be questioned after the appearance of his first book of poems in 1849, and Rugbeian "character" also came to the fore when for the rest of his life he conscientiously sustained the onerous appointment of Inspector of Schools. On religion he may, perhaps, be called the first Victorian to take a modern view, interested but detached, no longer hag-ridden by the last enchantments of the Middle Ages.

One would have liked more quotation from his essays and his poetry, those verses which have us all for his own once under his spell. What Q called his "melodious whine" was very different from his personality, as Miss Trevor perceptively puts it in comparing him with Arthur Hugh Clough ("Thyrsis"):

> Clough, ironic and direct in verse, was in living relationships, complex and uncertain, even suspicious: while Matt, whose verse was introspective and melancholy, was straightforward with other people, humorous and unworried.

The Public and Preparatory Schools Year Book 1973 (1,225pp. A. & C. Black. £2.25) is the 83rd issue of this guide to British public and prep schools for boys—though it is noticeable that more and more of them are beginning to take girls as well.

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Viewpoint

BY PETER PORTER

For years I have been ending those tiny biographies of oneself which publishers and editors seem to like (usually called "back of Penguin" notes) with a pious gesture towards the future. My ambition, I have recorded often enough to convince myself it is a cover for having no ambition, is to write plays in verse. Not adaptations, not libretti, not music theatre and not Brechtian *Lehrstücke*, but full-length plays, preferably set in the present, and written throughout in poetry.

Such an ambition is not only unlikely to be realized, it is unlikely even to be attempted. The precedents are hardly encouraging. I am just old enough to remember the renaissance of verse drama in the immediate postwar years, when the Mercury Theatre had a smash hit with *This Way to the Tomb*, and Christopher Fry made his name with *The Lady's Not for Burning*. I suppose the apotheosis of the genre was Eliot's *The Cocktail Party*, and the decline was quick thereafter, so that by the time Ken Tynan became Sunday drama pontiff a ritual sneer at verse plays was the equivalent of a critic's clearing his throat before starting.

Most critics believe that *Murder in the Cathedral* is Eliot's most successful play, and that the fragments of *Sweeney Agonistes* contain his best semi-dramatic verse, but I have always liked *The Family Reunion*, perhaps because its theme, developed from the Greek, takes up the line from Sweeney about every man needing to do a girl in. Harry's guilty fantasy is easy to believe in. Liberals like myself need to be reminded of the violence underneath their comradely attitudes to women, just as pacifists should examine their natures for signs of a fascination with war.

But, looking back over the whole field of postwar verse drama (and it was much more extensive than can be summed up in the well-coupled names of Eliot and Fry), it is Christopher Fry's work which seems the most genuine and original. He is not a poet working in the theatre, but a dramatist writing in verse. His faults are well enough known, but when one reads the praise lavished on prose dramatists like John Whiting, who lard their plays with "poetic" writing, that sweet-and-sour spicing which makes the theatre an intolerable place for poets themselves to visit, one appreciates Fry's relative tact with language. But the finest of all modern English verse plays belongs to the 1930s—Auden's *The Dog Beneath the Skin*, recently revived at Oxford. The textbooks say that it owes much to Brecht, and it is, of course, partly in prose. I can see almost nothing of Brecht in it, though quite a lot of W. S. Gilbert and Cole Porter, and a surprising undertow of Bernard Shaw running through the fantastic set-piece speeches. It suggests to me that if verse is to live again in the theatre, it must reconcile itself to mixed motives and considerable impurity. It is a great pity that generations of English poets admired Shakespearian grandeur and forgot to imitate Shakespeare's speed as a dramatist.

Amidst Artaud's solemn theorizing about "the theatre of cruelty", there is one sensible suggestion—the pointing of our noses back to the Jacobean rather than the Elizabethan theatre. For the modern dramatist, Middleton, Ford and even sentimentalists like Beaumont and Fletcher are better models than Shakespeare. *A Game at Chess* is a Royal Court Theatre play *avant la lettre*, and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* is Dick Emery written in poetry. *The Broken Heart* is the play John Osborne might get round to writing if his mood of *A Patriot for Me* were to be inseminated with poetry, and *Perkin Warbeck* shows how Edward Bond could do something lasting with his political misanthropy.

I appreciate that I could go on playing this "superiority of the past" game indefinitely: there is probably something absurd in always looking back instead of forward. Yet the examples of the leading artists of this century suggest that parody is a good ground base for modern achievement, that Pound, Eliot and Stravinsky became themselves when they had summoned up the ghosts of the great past. Perhaps this is the hallucination of a desk-bound writer, and the real theatrical future lies with the gymnastic-inarticulate, the lunchtime companies devoted to promoting Chairman Mao and pissing on the dictionary. Looking about me, though, I see signs that poetry intended for the page is claiming a dramatic franchise for itself. Sylvia Plath's last works are inhabited by a sense of psychodrama. Ted Hughes's and Peter Redgrove's poems can seem like voices over a running film half cartoon and half *Tibetan Book of the Dead*.

As Bernard Shaw said, the last place to look for theatrical innovation is the theatre. Hughes himself has been with the international companies in the moonlight at Persepolis, and I leave to those who know it the task of assessing the effectiveness of *Orghast*. That strange conventicle, the poetry reading, may yet acquire eucharistic significance. If we can keep our sense of the ridiculous but suspend our sense of the improper, we might light on a situation where poets are called in to supply the words for our public spectacles. This was the way the Greek theatre worked, and I believe it has scope today beyond *Son et Lumière*. Anthony Burgess has written in these columns of his faith in the writer as lyricist, and of the musical as the best vehicle for anyone wanting to get beyond a coterie audience. I would be more audacious than this—I think our theatrical wizards would find poets the most practical of men, far more willing to turn a phrase than anxious prose-writers, harassed by gossip columnists and officers of the Inland Revenue. If poets cannot be let loose in the Law Courts, there is still some hope for them in that other great antechamber of rhetoric, the theatre.

The first part of this Viewpoint has grown far beyond the mere exordium I intended it to be. My real subject this time was to be the crippling growth of self-consciousness in contemporary art, and the words about verse drama were just to illustrate how each of us feels obliged to give prior notice of his ambitions in order to convince public and critics that he is a serious artist ready with a worried manifesto at the ring of an interviewer's telephone. Some years ago, Mary McCarthy gave a radio talk about the state of affairs in creative arts departments on American campuses. Before the invited poet or novelist arrives at the Summer School or Conference, the university bookshop orders in copies of his works, which are prominently displayed to the gratification of his ego. Nobody buys any and soon after his departure the books go back to the publisher. No one is shocked, since everyone recognizes that the art itself is only for accreditation purposes, and the artist's real business is to join in the corporate agonizing about aims and aesthetics which these university conferences exist to foster.

The same attitude can be found even in our newspapers. Ten times as many people read *Guardian* interviews as listen to the music or read the stories of the people interviewed. The modern artist has to be careful to accumulate his hagiography along with his opus numbers.

This applies even at a much less elevated level. On Arts Council Writers' Tours, the most popular question asked by audiences is, "What do you think is the role of the artist in society?" Answers can so easily be flippant but will be well received only if they are grindingly solemn. It always surprises me that people don't recognize that an artist's seriousness is in his art, not in his explanations of it. His complete sententiousness will be found in his Complete Works, and manifestos, professorships, disciples, teaching workshops, aesthetic discourses and the rest are the resort of time-and-ego-troubled intelligences. Who can imagine Mozart doing more than commenting *practically* on the problems facing him? We have his letters to prove this, since the only piece of freewheeling conjecture in them, about the need for a German National Opera, is the only time he sounds a false note.

In the past it was almost a sine qua non that no artist admitted a shadow of aesthetic theory to cross his mind or his paper. There are, of course, a few examples of poets taking self-consciousness as the subject of their art—Pope's *Essays* on Criticism and on Man being the best known. And most artists have opinions and views to spare if you catch them in a talkative mood. But usually they have the good sense to avoid tying themselves ... or launching their wor[ks] ... platform. They also ... talk about their techni[que] ... intentions is an indul[gence].

Unfortunately, ... has taken over fr[om] ... axes are ground an[d] ... wielded, and the pub[lic] ... different to the ... slaughter. Grub Stree[t] ... *Battle of the Books* and ... show that this happened ... century, but each side ... ded on the same term[s] ... called up history or ... age's compulsions; as ... do. Wits and Dunces we[re] ... chosen when Our Sid[e] ... Your Side.

Now, alas, each wee[k] ... breakthrough; each ... cords a unique extensi[on] ... ordinates of art in ... pilgrim's account of h[is] ... the City of God. Howe[ver] ... look, there is one plac[e] ... see into, and that is the ... Future. As Robert Gra[ves] ... "To evoke posterity is ... your own grave."

I am a strong advocate ... being influenced by what ... of imitation as a way ... but I don't believe the ... gressive path and a ... path facing each perso[n] ... down at his desk. Probabl[y] ... a temperamental path ... times a wilful one, but the ... made up of thousands of ... finding his own destiny. ... tinies are seen later to be ... tern of the age, but not ... are working themselves ... wouldn't want an end to ... about what is good in co[ntemporary] ... art, or to see serious ... the face of commercial ... I think poets, and all art[ists] ... work is difficult, should ... lic indifference and their ... disagreement. Accept it, ... without regarding it as the ... of higher powers. If we ... please ourselves, we might ... pleasing our readers more. ... suspect that the Puritan co[nscience] ... will not be put down easily, ... notion that an imperfect work ... is a moral lapse will not read[ily be] ... thrown aside by our ferocious ... tors.

Nowadays, when the poe[t sits] ... down to write, he is tempt[ed to] ... make each poem a recitative ... aria. The recitative is his po[em's] ... self-consciousness, and the ... the bit of lyric he attaches ... Since I am sure that the int[ellect] ... is an economical machine, I ... with a quotation from *Don J[uan]*: ... men should kno[w] ...

They write, and for what end ... note or ...

I never know the word which ... come ...

Byron could always be surpris[ed by] ... his own genius, and, parado[xically] ... he became the perfect profe[ssional] ... by not renouncing the ... of the gentleman-amateur. ... right people, the words which ... next will turn out to be the ... words.

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The immorality of Lady Chatterley

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... himself told us that ... wrote *Lady Chatterley's* ... three times over. Version ... commonly, if not very ... called *The First Lady Chat*[*terley*] ... published in America in ... Version Two has so far ... available only in the ... translation by Carlo Izzo. ... now published in England ... time, the second under ... suggested sarcastically ... Huxley. Now that—the ... battle having been lost ... it is no longer mandatory ... liberal conscience to claim ... *Chatterley's Lover* is a ... of literary art, central to ... understanding of Lawrence, the ... of the interest and value of ... other versions can be inquired ... such detachment as one ... to so deliberately contro[versial a] ... work. Their importance cer[tainly sh]ould not be simply taken for ... E. W. Tedlock's assertion ... in the introductory note to ... *Thomas and Lady Jane*—that ... versions are unique in the ... they afford to study the ... of an idea by a creative ... is obviously nonsense. The ... of art affords a good many ... to study the develop[ment of] ... ideas by creative minds, as ... historians have found; ... Beethoven, Rembrandt ... offer a few examples ... which to measure the impor[tance of] ... the three Lady Chatterleys.

... new publication, then, ... much? Though there ... differences between the ... versions, and though, as ... Strickland has argued, ... strong reasons for pre[ferring] ... the first above the other two, ... few of those—admirers of ... or not—who dislike *Lady* ... *Lover* will feel that there ... in *The First Lady Chatter*[*ley*] ... a major work of litera[ture] ... those who admire the final ... likely to go on doing so ... preference to the quieter, less ... assertive but also less clearly ... first. But if Mr Strickland is right that Lawrence altered the novel disastrously in the rewriting, if F. R. Leavis is right that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is a bad novel, violating Lawrence's artistic integrity, then the study of the "development of the idea" becomes more than a matter of curiosity. Professor Tedlock's formula will strike many as sadly apt—sadly, for he cannot be presumed to have had this point in mind, and because in the event the outcome really is so unhappy, so un-Lawrentian. In his essay "The Orthodoxy of Enlightenment" Dr Leavis observes that "'will' and 'idea' (terms, in his use of them, intimately related) ... certainly play a part in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* that the normal creative and critical Lawrence would have diagnosed and condemned"; and what we can see in the "development" from the first Lady Chatterley to the third is the hardening of the idea under the determination of the will.

Frieda Lawrence gives us the real clue in the introduction which she wrote for the American publication of Version One and which is here reprinted:

> Lawrence said grimly after he had written *The First Lady Chatterley*, 'They'll say as they said of Blake: It's mysticism, but they shan't get away with it, not this time. . . . The tenderness and gentleness hadn't enough punch and fight in it, it was a bit wistful.' Anyhow another mood came over him and he had to tackle the novel again. He wanted to make the contrast between the cynicism and sophistication of the modern mind and the gamekeeper's attitude sharper.

Yes: he had to work up the punch and fight, he needed intellectually to sharpen a contrast which his material did not offer of itself. This gives the lie to Lawrence's own statement that his characters "just came, pretty much as they are", that "the story came as it did, so I left it alone". As is now open for all to see, he did not leave it alone: under the spell of a certain idea—the determination to make the contrast between cynicism and spontaneity diagrammatically sharp—he falsified such honesty of experience as there is in the first version and wrote a deeply immoral novel: immoral not because the language is indecorous but in its precommitment, which precludes honesty of record. "Morality in a novel", Lawrence wrote in 1925, "is the trembling instability of the balance. When a novelist puts his thumb in the scale, to pull down the balance to his own predilection, that is immorality." Two or three years later he himself demonstrated this with painful piquancy.

This is not to say that either of the earlier versions is free of all sense of parti pris. The treatment of Clifford Chatterley, for example, shifts a good deal in emphasis and detail, but from the start it is hard not to feel that he is the preordained symbol of the world of the mechanical will and is denied any possibility of a life on any other terms. His paralysis was always a part of this symbolism:

> Clifford was killing her. Killing that part of her soul which was her true body. He would have done just the same if he had never been wounded in the war. Only then she would not have seen so clearly. The terrible catastrophe had made her clairvoyant. (I)

So it was not a catastrophe to him: we are not to waste any sympathy on Clifford for the terrible injury he suffered; he would have been as evil without it—only it makes it easier for Connie to see. Yet Lawrence's intention towards Clifford in *The First Lady Chatterley* is not quite unambiguous. Certainly he is offered as the polar opposite of the gamekeeper (called Parkin in the first two versions) and, in consequence, it seems, is subjected to passages of such vilifying scorn as to call in question the sanity of the mind which they are supposed to express:

> Meanwhile the voice of the other man, Sir Clifford, went on and on, clapping and gurgling with strange sound. Not for one second did she really hear what he said. But it sounded to her like the uncouth cries and howls of barbarous disconnected savages dancing round a fire somewhere outside of the wood. Clifford was a smeared and painted savage howling in an utterly unintelligible gibberish somewhere on the outskirts of her consciousness. She, deep within the sacred and sensitive wood, was filled with the pure communication of the other man, a communication delicate as the inspiration of the gods.
>
> When the reading was ended she looked at Clifford, and his peculiar naked face, with the rapacious eyes of the men of our civilisation, made her shudder. It was the face of a most dangerous beast, domestic but utterly crude, inwardly insensitive.
>
> And with the swift instinct of self-preservation, the deepest of all the automatic instincts, she smiled to this cultured gentleman, to her softly throbbing blood a dangerous domesticated savage, and said to him:
>
> "Thank you so much, dear! You do read Racine beautifully." (I)

Nothing is shown, though so much is said—and in whose voice? Why should Racine sound like howling gibberish? Of course it has nothing to do with Racine. The syntax slips easily from how "it sounded to her", through what Clifford "was" (to her) to the seemingly "objective" statements about Clifford's face and her blood. The voice in fact shows a return to the technique of *Sons and Lovers*: it is that of an alliance between Lawrence and Connie, which makes it literally impossible that Clifford should be disinterestedly, that is honestly, observed: as he is a character in a novel, this means that he is denied an existence independent of the interpretation of a partial witness. (So, later, "he was no longer really human. She looked on him now as some weird bird or some creature whose soul has suddenly left it, while it lives on a sharp, often dislocated will of its own" (I). The bird image—how Connie "looked on him"—is instantly taken over as the new focus to which the reader's view is directed.) Parkin interestingly seems to be rather more sensitive to the possibility that Clifford might suffer and be hurt, until, prompted by Connie, he admits that he does not care if Clifford dies—"maybe better if he did".

But on occasion we have a glimpse of something else. In the first version there is a dialogue, entirely missing or changed out of recognition in the other two, in which Clifford's sense of his human "uselessness" comes out, a little stagily perhaps but with real poignancy, exposing for a moment that there is a suffering creature behind the façade of machine-made abstractions. (Connie's silent reaction is—characteristically—that "he was now letting off his agony on her".) More interesting, in tracing the development of Lawrence's idea, is the transformation of a fragment of dialogue during the famous scene in which Clifford's mechanical chair gets stuck and he must, much against his will, be helped by the keeper. In Version One he apologizes frankly after an evident effort of self-control, and is answered with straightforward decency:

> "I'm sorry I lost my temper, Con," said Clifford at length.
> "Oh, I don't mind," said Constance.
> "Parkin, do you mind wheeling me? I beg your pardon for the way I spoke to you."
> "The pesterin' things 'ud make anybody get their rag out," said the keeper. (I)

There is implicit a real considerateness on both sides. In Two, Clifford's tone has become "rather offhand" (so has Parkin's), and he is still

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plainly out of temper with the world:

"I'm afraid I rather lost my temper with the infernal thing!" said Clifford at last.

"It is annoying!" said Constance.

"Do you mind pushing me home, Parkin?" said Clifford. "And excuse anything I said", he added rather offhand.

"It's nothing to me, Sir Clifford!" (II)

Finally all note of true apology vanishes, and the scene becomes merely one more small piece of evidence of Clifford's inhuman callousness and lack of scruple (reinforced by the keeper's being made in this version to be weak from the after-effects of pneumonia):

"I expect she'll have to be pushed", said Clifford at last, with an affectation of *sang froid*.

No answer. Mellors' abstracted face looked as if he had heard nothing. Connie glanced anxiously at him. Clifford too glanced round.

"Do you mind pushing her home, Mellors?" he said in a cool, superior tone. "I hope I have said nothing to offend you", he added, in a tone of dislike. (III)

It seems to be a part not only of Lawrence's technique in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* but also of his fundamental intention (viewpoint) that the total human scene should be reduced to a handful—perhaps no more than a pair—of sheep among a world of goats or baboons from whom all traits of decent, ordinary humanity have to be expunged. There is a fairly nasty scene early in the novel in which Connie comes upon the keeper with his child (usually abandoned to her grandmother) crying after he has shot a marauding cat. In the first version, Parkin's voice "was strangely caressive, and yet irritated", "it was obvious that the child was afraid of him", but though she is a little coy, there seems no harm in the girl and Connie simply takes her home, away from the unattractive man. In Two the scene is totally altered. Parkin's voice is now "snarling", and what he says to the girl is first cutting, then derisive. Connie gives her sixpence and is told off for rewarding the child for lying (a point which the final version is careful to correct). But the episode turns viciously on the girl herself, who is now "a sly, false, impudent little thing, already full to the brim with tricks", so that, thinking about the scene on her way home, Connie can easily turn her dislike away from Parkin on to the girl:

The man had been insolent, insolent! Yet she could forgive him most easily. He might be a bit of a brute, but he was no cringer, and she didn't mind his temper. How he disliked that brat of his! She could sympathise with him there! It was an unattractive piece of femininity, that one! She could tell his skin simply crawled at the child's false airs and ways. Crying over a 'pussy', and as hard-hearted a little piece of goods as ever emerged! (II)

So Parkin's conduct and dislike are all right, because his own daughter is sly and false! Lawrence did fortunately remove that passage from Three, but the girl remains "simpering" and "false", and the impression is inescapable that she has been deliberately made so in order that Mellors's lonely virtue should stay essentially intact.

Though there is unfortunately no doubt that Lawrence endorses Connie's reactions, she comes pretty badly out of the intermediate version of this episode. She is "bored" with her self-imposed job of taking the child home; it is in her mind that the unpleasant docketing of the child takes place, and she shows the characteristic reaction of the "gentry" in winning the child over with a present. (Near the end of Two she even tries bribery to secure Parkin a better job.) In Two indeed there is a lot of—somewhat bewildered—hardness remaining in Connie, absent from Three, in which she is near to being treated as a pawn in the symbolic opposition of the two men. Strikingly, in the first version it is she who makes all the running: she has far more of the modern, independent woman (far more, too, of Frieda Lawrence) than the familiar Lady Chatterley, of whom it could hardly be said that she was "quite good at thinking in symbols". Nor on the other hand would *that* Lady Chatterley talk so blithely of hating all the local people "for having no nakedness as they should have". In the final version that sort of jargon is Mellors's property; whereas it is the spiky, scathing, outspoken first Lady Chatterley who, "quite determined against any sort of bullying", nevertheless drives Parkin on. Her fantasy about wanting to be a "common woman" is, as he says, "nawt but foolery"; she keeps plenty of will of her own, as Parkin feels keenly:

"You come when you like, an' you go when you like", he said, "an' you take no count of me. But what about me, when I wait and watch across th' park, an' you never come? An' I say to myself: 'She wants none o' thee tonight, lady! Go whoam an' hang thy gun up!'—Ay, I'll wait! Yi, an' go home, an' wait again th' next day. But I know right enough. You think nothing of me. You look down on me. Only you enjoy a bit of cunt wi' me. But you look down on me, cunt an' all." (I)

It is not a fair retort, but it has more justice than she will allow. The Constance who can say of her life with Clifford, "What had she got? Misery, anger and a horrible blank life ahead" is a woman intensely, even morbidly, self-centred and self-dramatizing, conscious almost alone of her own feelings and reactions: her boredom, her lurid hatred of Clifford ("that ghoulish Clifford", "a pinky grey baboon who ought to die. [He] only lived in order to make everything baboon-horrible") imply an absorption in the self which is as ugly as the mechanical mindlessness of the Clifford on whom she spits:

It was strange, once her soul roused itself, how she hated Clifford: the deadness and fixity that had turned to obscenity in him: the morality that was so ghoulish. Never a breath of fresh life, never, never. Always that soft, putrescent tolerance, a tolerance that consisted in turning a false light on everything, to make everything, everything, even her very technical adultery, an event flattering to himself. Always subtly flattering his own vanity: like some highly bred, cunning ape, like a young gentleman-baboon! No, she hated him, and her pity for him was an evil thing, a cunning sort of selfishness of her own. Let him die! Let the tidal wave sweep him and all his sort away for ever. (I)

Whatever of truth there is in this indictment of Clifford is scarcely visible in the intense glare of hatred which fills the paragraph. By the end of the book her violence has made her "curiously" a soul-mate for Clifford as she had never been before.

Parkin versus Mellors

Where Connie in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is so much a victim caught between two kinds of violence, in *The First Lady Chatterley* it is Parkin who is constantly driven into a corner, trapped in a way which Connie is incapable of understanding, or perhaps much caring about. Though we get an occasional routine blow-off against the gentry, Parkin is an incomparably more sensitive human being than Mellors. His discovery, early on in *John Thomas and Lady Jane*, that the gentry do not have things all their own way, his perception of actual suffering in Connie and even in Clifford, is a touching moment of truth which is also a moment of self-discovery unlike anything, even in the "tender" passages, of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, in which indeed Mellors's reactions are as calculable as Clifford's.

Parkin is solidly working-class. The change made in converting him into Mellors, who had been an officer, could speak standard English and had decided intellectual pretensions, is the most obvious nail that Lawrence drove into his novel. The reassurance that we get through Hilda that Mellors was "instinctively much more delicate and wellbred than herself" is, with much more, written into Three for the sake, obviously, of making Lady Chatterley's giving herself to one of the people both more palatable to a certain kind of sensitive social conscience and more plausible. But it is obviously a cheat. Mellors can "go anywhere", he has social poise, and Connie gets no nearer the working-class than his mother with a smudge on her nose whom she shuns and runs away from.

But Parkin, on leaving Wragby, goes to live and work in Sheffield, and Connie does some rather clumsy slumming—as his hosts, the Tewsons, instinctively recognize. The embarrassments of the tea party in which both sides are on guardedly good behaviour are nicely caught (Parkin himself plays little part in it, but he is at home with the Tewsons as she cannot be): the nerve of such exploration of the class theme as the book contains is here, where class is itself the main preoccupation. Connie "longed to say to their noses: 'I'm pregnant by this Oliver Parkin here: been pregnant for three months'", but Parkin has become a Communist, to whom the owners are "nobbut sort of fishes, an' what they've laid hold on they'll keep, if you tear 'em to bits to get it from 'em". To Bill Tewson, Connie is a friendly upper-class socialist, a second Countess of Warwick; and as she cannot understand why it is insulting to speak of Parkin in their presence without a "Mr" before his name, the hunch seems right. When she has left the Tewsons with Parkin,

"They're nice people," she said, "I'm glad they were so simple with me."

"What else should they be?" he said.

That little exchange is a wonderful piece of honest observation! It leaves a chasm between them which she is not humble enough to recognise; and her dream, with which the book ends, of the bliss of life as "just Mrs Parkin . . . in an ordinary house in some suburb" is little short of ludicrous.

The rewriting of the novel, therefore, involved an essential exchange of positions between Lady Chatterley and her lover (the element of possession implied, doubtless unintentionally, in Lawrence's final title is much more appropriate to the first version). Though it would be odd to speak of Parkin as a victim, there is no place in his story for the hectoring bullying to which Mellors subjects Connie and which so disfigures *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (where it is associated with the deliberate injection of dialect and of the "obscene words", largely missing from One and Two). Parkin does on occasion deliberately use dialect—defiantly, . . . when he was suspicious or [illegible]—but it is at first more [illegible] self-defence, a kind of ironical refuge" (II), than as an assault on the world he hates. Moreover, since it differs from his normal speech much less than from Mellors's (it is not far from the notably sympathetic Bill Tewson's), we register in it much less of a deliberate challenge: Lawrence is not himself obviously in league with the impulse behind its use. Then, as the rewriting goes on, the function of the dialect changes: in Two it has become a part of the mystique of primitivism which turns Parkin finally into the violent crusader of Three, gripped by antagonism:

He seemed to slide through centuries, thousands of years of human culture, in his hour with her. When she came, he was an ordinary man, not very different from Tommy Dukes or Clifford. But when his eyes began to dilate and flash, he began to slide back through the centuries. His curious hiss of passion, sudden indrawn, when he touched her naked body, was far back almost as the snake itself. And that crooning voice: "Th'art nice, th'art nice!"—was something pre-human. And then he used the dialect as a sort of armour and a weapon, forcing her to physical compliance. (II)

That is still the voice of the first Lady Chatterley, but her Parkin never forced his Connie to physical compliance, a forcing which seems looked on as a sign of a kind of elemental sexuality anterior even to the creation of man.

This may be moonshine (*The Plumed Serpent* is sometimes too near for comfort); but in the main Parkin is recognizably human: he is always strongly aware of class differences (and afraid, in consequence, of being merely used by Connie as an escape from Clifford), but there is still little, in his opposition to Clifford and the other "bosses", of the abrasive hatred which is so much the dominating motive of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Though hatred has been instinct as a motive for action from the start (in the self-obsessed Connie), it is only in Three that it is consciously elevated into a principle. Even in Two there is still something random in the way Connie flings around her condemnations, discovering with happy relief that the proletariat is "a state of mind, embracing Clifford and the gambling Lady Eva, and Mrs Bolton and the beastly Bertha Coutts, but missing Parkin and missing herself". If that seems merely childishly spiteful in the kind of particularity it offers, what follows is by implication a good deal nastier:

She felt a great relief, when she was no longer forced to think, and feel in terms of class. The warm-blooded were the warm-blooded, they were the sons and daughters of god, in all the world. And the cold-blooded and the cold-willed were the proletariat, the world over, from colliers to kings. . . . Against the proletariat she could bear to fight. (II)

So much for the elimination of class. The fighting resolves itself into simply wishing all the rest in perdition—"I shouldn't care if the bolshevists blew up one half of the world, and the capitalists blew up the other half, to spite them, so long as they left me and you a rabbit-hole apiece to creep in, and meet underground like the rabbits do!" It is not, alas, the carefree abandon of young lovers who will let the world go by on its own ways; there is undoubted relish in the prospect of the world's self-destruction. So, it might be said, is there in some of Birkin's more bitter prophecies in *Women in Love*. But Birkin's spleen never goes unplaced or unchecked; it is never suggested that it is in itself an idea; and it is set against the profound study of the effect of "proletarianization" on one man who had given himself to it thoroughly and deliberately.

There is little evidence in any of the Lady Chatterley novels that Lawrence was much interested in the "industrial" theme, and the suggestion that Connie's sexual tensions are somehow identical with the difficulties of modern industrial civilization always had something fraudulent in it. The attempt to gain a ballast of "significance" for the marriage theme from Mellors's diatribes on the evils of industrialism (as if the theme were not important enough to do without such factitious bolstering) is merely nominal.

And the objection to the identification in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* of physical sterility or impotence with mechanization lies deeper than the feebleness of the picture of Sir Clifford as industrial magnate, which is at best a silly parody of that of Gerald Crich: the positive [illegible] Lawrence's "case" is weaker [illegible] and the merely woodsy [illegible] the keeper's activities and [illegible] meetings with Connie is made [illegible] ply literal potency only by [illegible] sentimental associationism. The [illegible] a flabby lushness which [illegible] descriptions of the natural [illegible] designedly contrasted with the [illegible] dent imagos of hideous modern [illegible] ershall, so romantically linked [illegible] the story-book past of Robin [illegible]. But there is worse: the [illegible] matic contrast is the excuse [illegible] offered escape into an equally [illegible] book future — for those [illegible] lucky enough to be able to [illegible] forest life. As for the rest, [illegible] future is none of our concern [illegible] are simply the world which [illegible] will jettison for her own [illegible] salvation:

She realised there were two sorts of energy, the [illegible] seething, resistant, [illegible] blind sort, like that of [illegible] engines and motor-cars and [illegible] tricity, and of people such as [illegible] ford and Bill Tewson and [illegible] insistent women, and these [illegible] vacuous miners: then there [illegible] the other forest energy, that [illegible] still and softly powerful [illegible] tender, frail bud-tips and [illegible] finger-ends of awareness. [illegible] herself was seized by both [illegible] of energy. With Clifford and [illegible] Bolton, and at Bill Tewson's house, and with her sister [illegible] even, strange frenzies of the [illegible] sive energy came over her, [illegible] herself full of force. Some [illegible] this seemed to her the [illegible] desirable. But lately, the [illegible] great desire to escape it [illegible] sort of energy, that sense of [illegible] and power was accompanied [illegible] craving restlessness and [illegible] faction, something seething [illegible] grinding deep within, the [illegible] longed with all her soul to [illegible]. She had tasted the other, the [illegible] ness of life, which is so [illegible] from the frenzy of energy. [illegible] shall thy peace be as a river. [illegible] knew what it meant. It [illegible] the wood where she had been [illegible] stillness with Parkin. It [illegible] the fullness of life that there [illegible] which never want to wander [illegible] to something else.

And Parkin stood to her [illegible] peace. Then lately, in [illegible] he too had lost it, and [illegible] thrown her out of her [illegible]. She was almost afraid of [illegible] him: that pinched, rather [illegible] nificant little working-man [illegible] Blagby Street. (II)

The emblem of the forest

There is of course a central [illegible] within this; and fitfully the [illegible] does come alive as an [illegible] natural, rooted energy and [illegible] what Lawrence marvellously [illegible] in his vision (in "Apropos of Lady Chatterley's Lover") of the [illegible] rhythm of the Christian year. [illegible] forest is no more than evoked [illegible] the novels: it is not itself the [illegible] of energy. (Energy comes [illegible] much an issue of the will in [illegible] Mellors and Connie as in [illegible]. Obviously in the nature of [illegible] it cannot be a literal source [illegible] but a tiny handful who feel [illegible] live in the "chinks" left [illegible] children of men", and who [illegible] do so in self-regarding rejection of the mass of mankind at a [illegible] "warm-blooded" are a new [illegible] predestined elect. [illegible] do the [illegible] contrasts which Lawrence [illegible] the obtrusive patterning of [illegible] make sense only on the [illegible] of such a rejection. It [illegible] answer to say that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is not a "realistic" [illegible] unreality is that of a false [illegible].

There is little point in [illegible] order of preference between [illegible] three versions. Certainly [illegible] comparatively free from [illegible] overt bullying; it [illegible] lacking the crudely opposed [illegible] of *John Thomas and Lady Jane*, [illegible] more especially of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, it is more honest in [illegible] tion, though corresponding [illegible] obscure in purpose. But it [illegible] make enough difference [illegible] had trapped himself from [illegible] by the "symbolic" [illegible] which he imposed on his [illegible] real world. The [illegible] from the beginning, [illegible] something of the monstrous [illegible] only its "development" [illegible] fully into the open how [illegible] is the view it offers of the [illegible] of the life we can live [illegible] much hatred lies within [illegible] tion of tenderness.

Manuscripts in the British Isles Relating to Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific

PHYLLIS MANDER-JONES

Of immeasurable value to scholars, this book gathers together for the first time the location of a vast amount of source material held in the great collections of the British Isles and also in the records of societies, businesses and private holdings.
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To the Editor

Oxford Book

Sir,—G. S. Fraser (April 20) is [illegible] suspecting that the version [illegible] Empson's "Aubade" printed in [illegible] *Oxford Book of Twentieth-Century English Verse* is a truncated [illegible].

[illegible] deeply regretted error, for [illegible] I offer my apologies to Professor Empson and his publishers, [illegible] rectified in the first reprint.

PHILIP LARKIN.

[illegible] Brynmor Jones Library, University [illegible] Hall, Hull.

Sir,—Philip Larkin must be glad [illegible] included in *The Oxford Book of Twentieth-Century English Verse*, [illegible] Belloc's [illegible]

[illegible] morning, Algernon: Good morning, Percy.
[illegible] morning, Mrs Roebeck. Christ have mercy!

KENNETH HIBBERT.

[illegible] Carth, Burton Pidsea, Hull.

'Kingsley'

Sir,—Your reviewer says (April [illegible]) my "discursive" biography [illegible] Kingsley Martin (I warned any [illegible] readers in chapter one [illegible] was going to be deliberately [illegible]) is "sometimes inaccurate". I know this to be true in one [illegible] matters which, to judge from [illegible] examples he picks on, must have [illegible] your reviewer's notice. [illegible]", he says, "was a good [illegible] historian to have disliked" [illegible] he has picked on. How old [illegible] would have grinned! [illegible] of them came from his own [illegible] autobiography, *Editor*, page 58, [illegible] says that Tom Jones "had [illegible] private secretary to successive [illegible] Ministers—Lloyd George, [illegible] Bonar Law and Baldwin". (The [illegible] says he was their "trusted [illegible]" and adds Bonar Law.) [illegible] about the downfall of the [illegible] Government after the [illegible] Weekly prosecution, came [illegible] delightfully discursive if [illegible] inaccurate book *England* [illegible] 1914–1945 by A. J. P. [illegible]

[illegible] accuracy? Your reviewer [illegible] two early anecdotes that [illegible] of my book. One is [illegible] Kingsley at the age of [illegible] the other has him "a [illegible]" writing about his [illegible] as an outspoken member [illegible]. These "early episodes" are separated, as I make [illegible] plain, by "many years". [illegible] Mr Rolph", says your reviewer, "provides little evidence [illegible] Kingsley's encounters with all [illegible] interesting women "were [illegible] fantasy", as if I had [illegible] some titillating revelations [illegible] failed to come up with the [illegible]. There *isn't* any evidence. [illegible] fantasy. How on earth [illegible] have to spell that out? [illegible] "G. D. H. Cole, in a [illegible] exasperation", your reviewer "described him as a [illegible]". He didn't. It was [illegible] Webb, as Kingsley himself [illegible] of saying; he repeated it [illegible] I couldn't bring myself [illegible]. But to see it wrongly [illegible] after all his work on it, [illegible] would have really disgusted a good historian.

C. H. ROLPH.

[illegible] Edge, Bramley, Guildford.

English at Durham

Sir,—[illegible] I comment upon a [illegible] statement by Professor [illegible] (April 13)? He [illegible] persons without [illegible] among them himself [illegible] that the combined [illegible] of Old and Middle [illegible] now ended in Durham [illegible] virtually ended in the [illegible] English". He omits [illegible] that Anglo-Saxon is still [illegible] all first-year Honours [illegible] candidates, that they sit a [illegible] paper in Middle English, [illegible] there is available [illegible] Department of English a [illegible] language option by [illegible] unlike that offered in his [illegible]. Needless to say, [illegible] extremely able [illegible] in the Department [illegible] as well. In sum, [illegible] Department of English is most adequately staffed and equipped to satisfy the interests of those primarily concerned with earlier literature.

Quite simply, the Department of English has designed a syllabus intended to place Anglo-Saxon in perspective, to end the "forced-feeding" of, and over-emphasis upon, language, to acknowledge the presence of twentieth-century literature, and to right an imbalance between literature and language. Finally, some of your readers—tempest in a teacup though it may seem—might be interested to know that all decisions were reached by most decisive majorities within the Department of English.

J. L. BRADLEY.

Chairman, Department of English, University of Durham, Elvet Riverside, New Elvet, Durham.

Sir,—At Durham in the 1950s, the refusal to permit candidates to proceed in Honours English at the end of their first year was not quite on the scale that Mr Ogden (April 13) remembers it to have been. The Durham system of double interviews, by department as well as by college, ensures, as effectively as any system can, that candidates for Honours have academic ability in addition to, or in default of, amiability and other attributes. However, as regards the versatility of English tutors at Durham, Mr Ogden's recollections are perfectly correct and point to the real significance of what took place at Durham when the Department of English Language and Mediaeval Literature was created. They may also be taken as a signpost to the future.

One qualification for appointment to the staff of the English Department was, as it still is, the ability to set, read and discuss essays on the whole field of English literature. No matter what his elected speciality may be, each member of the department is expected to be prepared, within the privacy of the tutorial or, if need be, on the lecture platform or in the seminar room, to find something to say to students about any literary text in English, or indeed in any other language, if he can read it. This practice is open to obvious criticisms, but I think I speak for most of my colleagues in the Department of English when I say that, by and large, it suits our notion of what the range of interest of a teacher of English should be: he should be aware of the whole field and should know one or more areas of it in detail. In case this makes us sound too complacent, I should add that there is little agreement among us as to where the field begins and ends and where the best grazing is.

With the founding of the Department of English Language and Mediaeval Literature the notion was introduced that there are areas and aspects of English which members of either department, respectively, have no more right to pass judgment on than the man in the moon. The "faire felde" has been turned into a game preserve and the penalty for poaching is mutilation of limbs. I have no desire to pronounce on the future of English medieval and linguistic studies at Durham or to say whether the health of such studies will best be served or not by the segregation which Professor Smithers (April 13) advocates. My concern is with the Department of English and with the fact that what is in reality one subject has been given the appearance of being two, owing to the creation of the new department. The way forward for English lies, it seems to me, not in allowing ourselves to be herded under the banner of narrow specialization but in the maintenance of a broad outlook and a willingness to adopt new approaches.

G. S. IVY.

Department of English, University of Durham, Elvet Riverside, New Elvet, Durham.

Flatus

Sir,—It was a matter of keen satisfaction to me to read in Ian Hamilton's Viewpoint (March 16) that the Walter Pater Society of Brasenose has made an award to Professor Horace W. Davenport of Ann Arbor, Michigan, for his apt and ingenious use of quotation from Pater when, in his *Physiology of the Digestive Tract* (Chicago, 1971), he described human flatus as burning "with a hard, gem-like flame".

May I, as permanent secretary of the Long Christmas Dinner Society (founded at Balliol on March 1, 1937, with H. W. Davenport as a founder member), call attention to the fact that the first edition of this notable work apeared in 1961; in that year Professor Davenport's old college honoured him for this same happy union of literature with science, when he was awarded the Society's Ben Jonson citation. It read, in full:

In the name of Ben Jonson
To Horace Willard Davenport
"The same that writ so subtly of the fart."
The Alchemist, II, 1
From the Long Christmas Dinner Society.
March 1, 1961.

ROBERTSON DAVIES.

Massey College in the University of Toronto, 4 Devonshire Place, Toronto 5, Canada.

George Barker

Sir,—May I, as co-editor with John Heath-Stubbs of *Homage to George Barker on his Sixtieth Birthday*, be permitted to correct an error in your notice of the book? Your reviewer singles out for special mention Patrick Smith for his "idiosyncratic and over-abstract but perceptive meditation on George Barker". There is no contributor to the book of that name; your reviewer must be referring to Patrick Swift, who has also provided the frontispiece portrait.

MARTIN GREEN.

28 Tottenham Street, London W1.

'The English Sickness'

Sir,—Your review of my book, *The English Sickness*, coupled with that of Eric Heffer's *The Class Struggle in Parliament* (March 30) did an injustice both to myself and to Mr Heffer. The statement that Mr Heffer is "a living symbol" of what I term the English Sickness is far from the truth. I know and respect Mr Heffer and would never dream of suggesting that he in any way symbolizes strikes in this country, no matter how robust he may be in championing the cause of the Trade Unions. Nor do I in *The English Sickness* see the trade unions "wielding brute monopoly power and wrecking the national interest by strikes to achieve their selfish ends". No one who has read such a book could possibly make such a charge.

But far more important is the bald statement by your reviewer "she sees reds under the beds". This is monstrously unfair. What I did in a brief but necessary chapter on the part played by agitators in strikes was to state factually what their role has been and what Communists themselves have stated to be their aim. No historical account of trade unions could possibly be complete without a reference to these facts.

It is, perhaps, significant that, in the great many reviews of *The English Sickness* yours is the only one to make such an assertion. Lord Robens, for example, in his review—and he is, after all, a former Minister of Labour in a Labour Government—states "while not looking for 'reds under the beds', and not blaming all strikes on Communist agitation, nevertheless the book draws the conclusion that too often Communist agitation has been at the bottom of disputes". Lord Robens added additional evidence of the Communist Party's interests by quoting from their 1962 member's handbook:

Factories are at the centre of the class struggle . . . . We need strong communist organisation in the factories in order to see that the militancy and decisive strength of the industrial workers is brought into the heart of the political struggle on the basic immediate issues and at the same time to explain the need for socialism and to win the workers to support our policy.

He also draws attention to the demand to the TUC by the National Executive of the Communist Party earlier this year that "industrial action should be used to defend any union threatened by the Industrial Relations Act and the offensive to smash the Act should be stepped up".

Surely you cannot fail to concede that anyone who knows anything about the history of strikes in this country recognizes that the Communist Party has played and is playing a significant part. To dismiss their activities as seeing reds under the beds is childishly facile.

MAUREEN TOMISON.

Oak Dene, Slines Oak Road, Woldingham, Caterham, Surrey.

* Our reviewer writes:—Miss Tomison is not involved in the statement that Eric Heffer is the living symbol of what she calls the English Sickness: that is your reviewer's opinion after reflecting on Mr Heffer's assertion of the supremacy of trade union interest over apparently every other economic and social consideration.

On "reds under the bed": Miss Tomison's chapter twenty-four, "The Agitators", was given more significance than she suggests. Out of her study of trade unionism, she states, "three inescapable conclusions emerge". The second of the three reads: "Too often Communist agitation has been at the bottom of disputes." Your reviewer believes that to be too facile without more research than she gave to the subject. Miss Tomison should read Mr Heffer's book, and the argument will be made plain.

Sir,—Your reviewer of Eric Heffer's *The Class Struggle in Parliament* and Maureen Tomison's *The English Sickness* (March 30) tells us that Miss Tomison is married to a professional publicist for the Conservative Party. He does not tell us to whom Mr Heffer is married. It would be odd if he did, but no odder than the assumption that only if authors are male can they be considered wholly responsible for their own views.

RODNEY BARKER.

London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE.

Port

No, Sir,—Claret is the liquor for boys; port for men; but he who aspires to be a hero must drink brandy (April 7, 1779).

DR JOHNSON.

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BATSFORD

Nut cases

DANNIE ABSE :

Funland and Other Poems

71pp. Hutchinson. £1.75 (paperback, 75p).

C. K. STEAD :

Crossing the Bar

72pp.

KENDRICK SMITHYMAN :

Earthquake Weather

83pp.

Auckland University Press. London : Oxford University Press. Paperback, £1.30 each.

OWEN LEEMING :

Venus is Setting

53pp. $3.50.

PETER BLAND :

The Man with the Carpet-Bag

46pp. $4.

Christchurch : The Caxton Press.

The title-work of Dannie Abse's new book is a sequence of nine poems loosely pegged to the euphemistic expression whereby a mental hospital is "a funhouse". Society, or the world—"funland"—is a lunatic asylum, with "the superintendent", "Mr Poet", "black-garbed priests/and scientists in long white coats" and others as the inhabitants. Dr Abse's invention here runs much more to surrealist comedy and farcical fantasy than he has hitherto attempted, and it is a risky enterprise. Where everything is arbitrary, everything has to be taken on trust. For example, someone called Pythagoras starts a society and everyone joins it:

There are very few rules.
Members promise to abstain
from swallowing beans. They promise
not to pick up what has fallen
never to stir a fire with an iron
never to eat the heart of animals
never to walk on motorways
never to look in a mirror
that hangs beside a light.
All of us are happy with the rules.

But "a Society ... has to be exclusive. /Therefore someone must be banned." So the Thracians, whom no one has ever seen, are marked down for discrimination. And so on.

All this is done with a nonchalant jokiness of a kind that reminds one of such ingratiating performers as the Adrians Henri and Mitchell and Roger McGough :

Bored with his own act he shouts
JEHOVAH ONE BAAL NIL

is very much in that area. Of course Dr Abse is far more adroit than they, but their relationship with their audience is comparable with what Dr Abse seems to be reaching towards in "Funland". The whole sequence has been successfully done on radio, and one imagines that it works very well from the platform too; but to many Abse admirers the real stuff will still seem to be found in the more private, less strenuously entertaining poems with which the new book begins—"Mysteries", "Peachstone", "A new diary", "Here", and several others, all of them confident, tactful, eloquent, with touches of gently worried humour. He can be more broadly humorous too, as he is in "Miss Book World" and "The death of aunt Alice", without forcing tone or mood. At his best Dr Abse is both a delightful and a disturbing poet.

The four New Zealand poets assembled in this batch are all controlled and even subdued formalists, in many ways indistinguishable from their English contemporaries. C. K. Stead, for example, seems in his title poem to adopt the manner of Donald Davie to make an un-Davie-like point :

Poetry. Second best.
It represents. It speaks
Truest from a broken house.
Only the whole man
Jumps his own height.

Brumel, crossing the bar,
Represents nothing.
A singular wit
Shrugs gravity a moment off
And falls on foam.

Poets at the last are deft.
I contract to that end
My second-best art.
It will serve to praise the first.
The first served only itself.

This reserved, laconic, rather cold note is characteristic of Mr Stead : he aims, as the blurb comments, towards the features of the first line in the book's first poem : "Hard. Bright. Clean. Particular." This sometimes gives an impression of aridity and costiveness, at least in the first two sections ; the final section, of earlier poems, is both more eclectic and more expansive.

Kendrick Smithyman writes a more heavily furnished poetry, full of names and places, dense sometimes to the point of congestion. Like Mr Stead's, Mr Smithyman's poems often seem to emerge from the concerns of an academic life, seen ironically but nevertheless dominant : "Marking Essays", "Version of Pastoral", "A Fable of Critics", "Research Project" are titles that give a notion of a 1950s witty dryness still surviving in the South Pacific. But at his best, in "An Ordinary Day Beyond Kaitaia", he extrapolates richly from his ironical observations rather than just cleverly underlining them.

Owen Leeming's first book includes one long poem, "The Priests of Serrabonne", which in its dogged, questioning way makes a distinct impression : a meditation on Christianity, it confronts the poet's "apostate mind" with "veracity's saving grace" and worries itself through the confrontation with much well-observed detail, restless clutching at autobiography, and unfashionable earnestness. The other poems reflect the same personality but do so less interestingly.

Peter Bland is more colloquial, easier, an amused annotator of diurnal suburbanites in a very recognizable modern English way, and indeed Mr Bland has been only a temporary resident in New Zealand and is now back in London. "I knock/back baby chams and gnash my teeth/on blood-red mini-steaks" are lines that might have come from one of a dozen recent volumes in this country, and altogether Mr Bland, though quite able and readable, doesn't give much impression of individuality.

Sweet liberties

ALLEN GINSBERG :

The Fall of America

188pp. San Francisco : City Lights. Paperback, $2.50.

ERICA JONG :

Fruit & Vegetables

86pp. Secker and Warburg. £2.10 (paperback, £1.10).

PATRICK FETHERSTON :

Natures of all Sorts

57pp. Tetralith Books with Writers' Forum. Paperback, 30p.

The voice of the Great Bearded Ginsberg is once again heard throughout the land—and it's good to hear it again—a clear, indignant, penetrating note, hip, contemporary, rhetorical, sometimes hysterical, sometimes even funny. But always better to hear than to read.

The Fall of America, sub-titled "poems of these states 1965-71", is dedicated to Walt Whitman, with a longish quotation from *Democratic Vistas* (1871) which celebrates "intense and loving comradeship, the personal and passionate attachment of man to man" as the opposite of "our materialistic and vulgar American democracy". In Ginsberg terms this means strong opposition to colonial wars, banks, capitalism, racists, antisemites, the police, pollution (a relatively new concept in 1966) and strong approval of his friends, William Blake, various drugs, male homosexual sex, and Eastern mystical religions.

Along with Whitman in this easy-riding verse ("'Tis sweet Liberty I hymn in freeman's sunlight") there are traces of Pound's *Cantos* and the inevitable William Carlos Williams. Since *Howl* (1957), the hysteria is less acute. Mr Ginsberg uses the long Sixties line ; though the short-line poem, signalling a change in fashion, does appear at the very end of the book—dated May 28, 1971.

The travelogue pieces, which comprise the book's first two sections, depend on impressionist description : "On plains towards Pasco, Oregon hills at horizon, Bob Dylan's voice on airways, mass machine-made folksong of one soul—*Please crawl out your window*—first time heard" ; "Toes chilled in Czechoslovakian tennis sneakers." After a time, though, there is a sameness about the poems—just as there is an unavoidable sameness about the highways, billboards and industrial landscapes surrounding the big towns. Some of the shorter poems are more effective. "Please Master" is a sexual prayer with some power behind it. One single short burst of very uncharacteristic alliteration is refreshing :

After friendship fades from flesh forms—
heavy happiness hangs in heart.

The humour is welcome also :

It's a hard question . . .
which would you rescue, your mother-in-law
or the last text of Shakespeare ?

Mr Ginsberg, in spite of the universal brotherhood, is a very self-dramatized poet. Even the exact time of writing has to be recorded ("5-5.30 AM"). But if he is over-dramatic, posturing, and rhetorical so, of course, are some of the speeches in Shakespeare's plays ; and what is weak in Ginsberg could even sound good declaimed by him personally:

Millions of babies in pain
Millions of mothers in rain
Millions of brothers in woe
Millions of children nowhere to go,

This is the climax of "September on Jessore Road", a Bangladesh ... tion poem and the only rhymed ... the effect is cumulative and ... four lines is not really fair ... Likewise, one poem begins:

up up and away !
we're off, thru America

reading like a song from *The* ... *of Oz* ; but there is no doubt the author himself could make it ... impressive.

Erica Jong represents a ... demic school of American ... cooler, less aggressive, with ... domestic, more concerned with ... woman relationships, the ... essence of things ("the ... like beckoning fingers") ... words themselves ("... through the blue caves of the ... fort"). She addresses, in ... ual terms, a male Muse, ... and analysis, as ... status of women as poets, ... some intelligent satire. When ... most herself she is very good ... The poems that follow ... in the wake of Sylvia Plath ... least successful ("Fracture", ... ample).

Patrick Fetherston's *Natures* ... *Sorts* is a long philosophical ... a modernized and shortened ... of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* ... hard going—as was Lucretius ... ginal. It emerges here as a ... argumentative poem. Only ... ally does the verse rise ... argumentativeness:

In a car of two lions' power
you've seen her, or ...
her stony defensive ...

Mostly, the effect is a little ... "Water makes way for ... Closes up again after the ... swum on ?/Where would the ... have gone/if the water had ... ed ?" This is a meritorious ... to update a great Latin poem ... doesn't, naturally enough, ... with the original as poetry.

Time Passing

I

And did they run
Together down
Towards the sea ? And was it dark ?
And who was there ?

Was anyone
Besides the two
Sisters ? Was Aubrey there ? And was
It really cold ?

II

And was the tide
Receding, with
An undertow ? And did they care ?
And did the girls

Change on the sands,
Or beforehand
In the caravan ? And did the moon
Come out and show

Them shivering
Between the groynes,
Their bodies whetted, rubbed with salt,
And bare as knives

Mounting the water as
The kings and queens
On playing-cards ? And did they laugh
And fall in waves ?

III

And did their hands
Or icy hips
Touch underwater, and withdraw ?
And did the surge

Pull down their hearts
To its own cold ?
And did the night
Seem long and full

With empty riches,
And the world
Float in their eyes
For a great distance ?

IV

Yes. It did.
And did the watch
One dropped as he
Came wading in

Jam, with the time
For ever in
Its glassy face ? And is it there
Imperishable in

The green, a joy
And care to come
For all of them ? And will they know
Before they die ?

V

No. They will not.
And as they dry
Their sanded flesh
And walk away, a bitter wind

Whitens the breath
Each gives to air.
And do they know ?
No. They do not. And never will.

GEORGE MacBETH

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Raimund and Vienna

211pp. Cambridge University Press. £4.

... VIENNESE COMIC actor ... turned playwright Ferdinand Raimund (1790-1836) was even ... own life time eclipsed by ... ascendant star of his com... Johann Nepomuk Nestroy ... Raimund, who shares ... theatrical tradition as ..., is nowadays frequently ... a kind of sleeping partner in ... "Raimund and Nestroy". ... reasons for this judgment do ... themselves. Nestroy pro... something more than 80 plays, ... a modest eight. While ... art is one of largely satiri... modernity, Raimund's "senti..." comedies reflect the meta... and moral attitudes of pre-... Austria, and were indeed ... losing touch with public ... the 1830s. While Nestroy ... relinquished the increasingly ... magic elements of the ... "burlesque" or "local ..." (a genre which has much ... with the English panto... Raimund's work rested upon the last. Finally, while Nestroy ... a very sure touch in his ... of the various elements ... particular craft (comic charac..., complex plot structures, ..., song, pyrotechnic play ... language), Raimund seems to ... overstepped his capacities in ... of "serious" drama, ... contemporary and modern ... have been disturbed when ... attempts to play Hamlet.

... Raimund try his hand ... "serious" drama? *Raimund* ... shows that the author ... a way out of the shallow... of the traditional ... burlesque, where the audi... asked simply to enjoy the incongruity of the fairy... behaving like human beings, ... citizens caught up in ... events of a fairy tale. ... whole point of the charade ... and little else. Indeed, ... was required was one of the ... (Hanswurst, Staberl, Kas...) in the commedia ... manner, and a whole se... of improbable and amusing ... could find a peg on which ... Raimund's highly proble... opposed to his successful) ... of producing a deeper treat... reality was to place greater ... on his "serious" characters, indeed to write in the heroic and tragic mode.

Dorothy Prohaska unmaliciously reveals what she considers to be Raimund's mediocre achievement here. When the Viennese harpist and comic character Zitternadel (*Die unheilbringende Zauberkrone*, 1829) constantly bounces up in a plot full of earthquakes, plagues, murders and the like, we have a breach of style unjustifiable in any terms. Furthermore, these comic characters were conceived as entertaining interludes, as incidental to the "serious" main plot, and yet, like Raimund's own role of Nachtigall (*Die gefesselte Phantasie*, 1826), they steal the stage and the audience's heart. Finally, and perhaps most damagingly for Raimund's heroic vein, the playwright's elevated language was never his strong point, with the result that the "serious" characters, like the doomed Phalarius in *Zauberkrone*, are lifeless creatures who "posture, exclaim and protest" but whose "passions and sorrows lack the substance of which real passions and sorrows are made". Again, if we simply contrast two speeches figuratively depicting the power of gold, we find that the elevated language of Flottwell's despair at having sinned against gold's majesty (*Der Verschwender*, 1834) is abstract and wooden, while Nachtigall's racily anecdotal description is one of lived reality and comic immediacy. Such a comparison may look unfair, but it is precisely this comparison which Raimund's constant juxtaposition of "serious" and "comic" characters (the former lifeless, the latter utterly alive) invites.

It was, in fact, by concentrating on his inheritance and practised skills as a local comic playwright that Raimund found a successful method of deepening his art (hence the title of Miss Prohaska's book). The touch of genius was to replace the stock figure by a local character, who was instantly recognizable to the Viennese audience, and capable both of fulfilling the demands of the *comic* role and of sounding a serious note of reality through the magic and the laughter. In *Das Mädchen aus der Feenwelt* (1826), the transience of fortune and the folly of pride find powerful expression in the magical transformation of the robust, wealthy farmer Wurzel into an aged, destitute Viennese ashman, whose melancholy cry "an Oschen" has more compelling allegorical substance than all Raimund's attempts to use Baroque emblems in his "serious" drama.

In *Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind* (1828), a well-to-do Viennese falls victim to a delusion whereby he is continuously at odds with external reality. The process is then reversed by magic, and Rappelkopf incredulously, and always comically, learns the truth about the world and himself through being forced, quite literally, to see himself as others see him. The theatrical tradition of the burlesque is there, as is the taste of the Leopoldstadt theatre audience, but what emerges is a tautly constructed, serious comedy of character. Finally, in *Der Verschwender*, Valentin's embodiment of the "common man of Vienna", loyal, quiescent, recognizing with wry, good-humoured acceptance a certain sadness in the human condition—a vision which crystallizes with total effectiveness in his famous "Hobellied"—combines popular entertainment of a local kind with high moral tone and a serious look at the business of living. To concur with Grillparzer's judgment : when Raimund tried to write "serious" drama he produced an "imageless melancholy", but in the comic genre (where he could deploy his local comic figures, his creative use of the vernacular, his observation of life about him), his sense of freedom called "poetic characters" into being.

Miss Prohaska's book, the first major study of Raimund in English, is an excellent piece of work. In terms of materials alone the reader has cause for gratitude : this volume not only gives a handy account of the most important aspects of the Viennese popular theatrical tradition, but also explains the great wealth of topical Viennese allusion in the plays themselves. Thus, the book informs us about such things as the sentimental taste of Raimund's public, their local patriotism, the topography of Vienna in the 1820s and 1830s, street-lighting, or simply specific local terms (*Linienschiff*, *Heiducken*, *Narrendattl*, *Vitzliputzli*). It is true that the index needs attention and extension, but *Raimund and Vienna* is clearly an excellent companion volume to the plays and, a compliment to the author's wide scholarship, a miniature social history of the Vienna of Raimund's time.

However, in the final resort it is as a critical study of Raimund's work that this book commands our interest. One might object that in this treatment of Raimund his Baroque heritage and vision have been reduced largely to the externals of theatrical spectacle. After all, have not Otto Rommel and Roger Bauer (the latter admittedly sharing Miss Prohaska's aesthetic judgment) deepened our appreciation of the "serious" works by showing how they embody Raimund's own torments reconciled within a Baroque image of the order of things ? And did not Herbert Cysarz plead decades ago that we should take the verse as almost not the major component of Raimund's heavily visual Baroque art, but rather allow the words to become transparent in the service of wish, fantasy, dream, and perhaps of a "key to unlock every door." ?

However, Miss Prohaska gives short shrift to anything of this sort, and persuasively marshals evidence to argue that it is the local comic tradition and the Biedermeier ethos of gentle resignation which enlist Raimund's true poetic gifts, which evoke a coherent dramatic style and lastingly effective theatre. *Raimund and Vienna* offers, then, among much else a well-argued thesis that there are good aesthetic reasons why those of Raimund's plays which embody his Vienna, both as a reality and a popular theatrical tradition, should appeal to the modern audience, just as they were instantly successful with his contemporaries.

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The positive virtues of Schumann

ALAN WALKER'S new symposium is welcome for presenting the findings of up-to-date research, for the quality of its ideas (he has marshalled a distinguished team of specialists) and for the tone in which they are delivered. There has been a very positive change in attitude towards Schumann's music since the last symposium, edited by Gerald Abraham, appeared in 1957. Hans Keller epitomized this change in his article, "Schumann was a Symphonist" (*The Listener*, October 21, 1971). This new symposium is a testimony to it.

Most abuse has been levelled at Schumann's symphonies, despite, in the case of some critics, "the urge to praise" (the words are those of Schumann himself). Thus Mosco Carner in Professor Abraham's symposium: "Schumann's kaleidoscope again: the changes and surprises occur with such swiftness that we are given no time to reflect on whether it is all truly symphonic." Truly symphonic? Dr Carner's chief model for the symphony is Beethoven. But as Schumann himself said, "Nature would burst should she attempt to produce nothing but Beethovens." (In fact, his own model and inspiration was Schubert.)

In a chapter on the orchestral works Brian Schlotel makes it clear that he is not concerned with approaching Schumann's symphonies on any terms but their own. Viewed in this way, Dr Carner's "failings" ("aimless modulations", "irritating padding", "swamping ostinati") prove to be the very foundations of Schumann's structures. Nor does Mr Schlotel have any difficulty in finding example after example of Schumann, the orchestrator, at his best. He seems less interested in hounding out the admitted problems of scoring than in overcoming them with practical solutions: a way round a tricky opening bar, for "if it comes off the effect is magical"; remedies for some general weaknesses such as too much doubling, overworked first violins, excessive string tremolando. He stresses the dependence of Schumann's music on his interpreters: "In the wrong hands or studied on paper they [the late concert overtures] can seem dull, yet with sympathetic playing it is remarkable how they pulsate with life and warmth."

The "thickness" of Schumann's later orchestrations has often been attributed to misjudgment due to his encroaching mental illness. Mr Schlotel suggests a more practical reason: Schumann may have doubled parts in order to ensure a safe performance in the case of absenteeism or poor conducting—he was himself a most inept conductor. A comparison of the composer's two versions of the Fourth Symphony seems to bear out Schumann's feeling that "the first conception is always the best", for although there are some structural improvements in the 1851 revision, all the advantages of orchestration belong to the original. Mr Schlotel also examines the Mahler re-orchestrations, pointing out that while superior in brightness and precision, the effects are "undoubtedly less Schumannesque" and that they may even contradict Schumann's intentions, as in the case of Mahler's revisions of dynamic markings. He suggests that one of the reasons why Schumann's own versions are usually preferred is that Schumann's feeling for the orchestra was inseparable from the striving character of his vision. If Schumann's pianistic thinking influenced his orchestration, the reverse is also true, and both are characterized by textures of beguiling transparency as well as by heavy doubling. As Mr Schlotel says, "the best performances couple the waywardness of his solo piano style with his orchestral language".

The chamber music has also come in for its share of abuse: the relevant chapter in Professor Abraham's symposium begins: "We may take it that the bulk, perhaps the entire content of Schumann's chamber music was 'romantic' and 'unnecessary'." (After which there

ALAN WALKER (Editor):

Robert Schumann

489pp. Barrie and Jenkins. £7.50.

JOAN CHISSELL:

Schumann Piano Music

72pp. BBC. 45p.

come thirty-seven incoherent pages to prove the point.) John Gardner seems to think that the composer of *Carnaval*, *Dichterliebe* and the "Spring" Symphony may have had something special to give to the medium of chamber music. He concentrates on the fine Piano Quintet with its thematic compression and concerto/orchestral scoring and shows how Schumann tackled and mastered "fresh forms" in his quartets. Even Mr Gardner's response to the less successful trios and violin sonatas is characteristically warm.

It is not the least of the merits of Mr Walker's symposium that it sends one to the music. Even the more rarely played works are championed here: the Violin Concerto, perhaps even over-enthusiastically, by Alfred Nieman; the choral works by Louis Halsey. Both plead for more frequent performance; certainly the Violin Concerto, if only for its beautiful slow movement, deserves a place in the repertoire. One can think of British choral works much duller than Schumann's dullest, and which are performed more often than his fine *Requiem für Mignon*. As for the dramatic works, they are quite simply not dramatic, points out Frank Cooper. But they are full of the most marvellous music (as a recent performance of *Scenes from Goethe's "Faust"* under the sympathetic baton of Boulez has shown); they are innovatory both in the historical sense (their "unending" vocal lines, leitmotivs, appoggiaturas, all look towards Wagner) and in terms of Schumann's own language.

The piano works and songs need no championing. Three chapters are devoted to the piano works—Yonty Solomon writes on the sonatas and fantasies, Balint Vazsonyi on the piano cycles and Joseph Weingarten on interpretation. Mr Vazsonyi in particular notices some interesting things: the peculiar and versatile nature of Schumann's "open-ended" phrases which can serve as beginnings, endings and links—the need to "project hypnotically" the basic pulse in order to convey the effect of Schumann's long passages of syncopation and his metrical cross-currents. There is no attempt at a comprehensive discussion of the piano works, although a complete list appears at the back of the book. Joan Chissell's *Schumann Piano Music* (one of the BBC Music Guides) combines catalogue and commentary within a biographical context—an excellent introduction for the layman. The specialist, too, will find things of interest.

In the symposium, Eric Sams describes how Schumann moved from piano music into the realm of lieder, how some piano themes were later used in songs, how when "the thought was too deep for words" the "*innere Stimme*" of the solo piano returns in the postludes. It is remarkable with what insight he traces Schumann's genius for equating life and movement and emotion, whether on a graphic or a definitive scale, with specially significant harmonies, sequences and, indeed, ciphers. His chapter "Schumann and the Tonal Analogue" develops ingenious, though certainly not watertight, notions which he first aired in *The Musical Times*.

Tempi, as both Mr Weingarten and Mr Schlotel point out, are subject to conditions governed by hall, performer and the music itself; but it is useful to know that Schumann's own markings are a reliable guide to his intentions—that although they may sometimes err on the side of speed (nothing [...] with excitable composers) [...] nothing wrong with his [...] whatsoever. Clara's markings [...] gests Mr Schlotel, should [...] consulted when they coincide [...] Robert's or when he had [...] none himself, for in some [...] (for example, the Arabesque [...] 18) they change the character [...] the piece completely. Some [...] publish a *mélange* of Robert's [...] Clara's markings; in order [...] the performer can refer to [...] collection of authoritative [...] tions in the British Museum.

Ignorance about Schumann's mental illness has detracted [...] the appreciation and [...] of much of his music. [...] researches in this direction [...] or not they fix conclusively [...] diagnosis of congenital [...] recent medical and [...] evidence seems to support [...] diagnosis), do establish [...] disease that struck Schumann [...] way through his life [...] killed him, was organic [...] mann's cyclothymic [...] Mr Slater points out, [...] be as much of an [...] as a handicap in musical [...] Just how far and from [...] the organic symptoms were [...] cap is open to question. The [...] advanced only sporadically [...] calendar drawn up by Mr S[...] Schumann's varying [...] shows that many of the [...] later works were written [...] lucid, fertile periods when S[...] was in command of his [...] faculties.

Two chapters (by Henry [...] sants and Leon Plantinga [...] tively) are devoted to Schumann's [...] literary activities, and one [...] consists of nothing but [...] quotations from the composer's [...] writings. Dr Walker, [...] pithy, amusing chapter on [...] graphical background.

Robert Schumann is well [...] mented throughout, referring [...] stantly to sources and [...] well as a general index [...] index of works and [...] there is a family tree, [...] survey and a register of [...] There are long music [...] sometimes whole pieces. One [...] expect a certain amount of [...] tion within any symposium [...] one is well cross-referenced [...] are not so much repeated [...] veloped and cross-examined [...] pass from one mind to another.

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Musicological literature, which has filtered fitfully from its dusty shelves to the shiny sleeves of innumerable long-playing records, is now repaid in kind by the appearance of Alfred Dürr's two volumes on Bach's sacred and secular cantatas, since the greater part of this material originated in the author's notes for many German recordings released over the past fifteen years. He has greatly extended those early essays, bringing information up to date and standardizing the manner of presentation. The result is a well-organized and readable vade-mecum destined to serve all Bach enthusiasts who know German—as undoubtedly many of them do.

They will find all the church cantatas arranged in the most sensible and logical way possible—in the order of the liturgical year. Those from Advent to Trinity are dealt with in Volume 1, while the remainder (along with feasts of the Virgin, John the Baptist, and the Archangel Michael) appear in Volume 2. Here also are to be found special feasts such as that of the Reformation, the Dedication of a Church (or of an organ), and the various occasional works for town councillors, weddings and funerals that a captive composer was expected to write at short notice. A further sixty pages generously cover the secular cantatas, which continue to be frequently performed and recorded, so that there is a real need for information of the kind that Dr Dürr provides.

His procedure is simple and easy to follow. First, the name of the Sunday or feast; then the biblical references for Epistle and Gospel; title of the cantata, numbered according to Wolfgang Schmieder's thematic catalogue; volume and page reference to the Neue Bach-Ausgabe; approximate duration in minutes (borrowed with acknowledgement from Werner Neumann's book on the cantatas); a breakdown of individual items—type, voice, incipit, key, time-signature; and finally a commentary on the work with detailed information on date and place of origin, instrumentation, text, and special features.

Those who still possess, and use, the earlier complete Bach edition, of which at least three reprints have appeared in various shapes and sizes, will perhaps regret that their needs were not catered for by a reference to the volume and page of the dear old Bach-Gesellschaft. The volumes, however, can be verified by turning to the bibliography on page 727 which also tells us the latest news about reconstructions in progress and the present state of Bach literature in German publications. The four indexes should prove a boon to the researcher, for there is one of names, another of technical terms neatly defined and explained before the actual page-references occur, an alphabetical list of cantatas, and a final list enumerating them in accordance with the thematic index.

But this is not all. Dr Dürr prefaces his survey with a well-defined group of introductory essays on the history of the cantata before Bach, the development of the form in Bach's own hands, and the way in which they were performed. A study of this last chapter should stimulate those who aim, at all costs, to reproduce the actual sounds of the music as it might have been heard under the composer's direction. Sometimes the score was completed only a day or so before the first performance, and in consequence the orchestral and vocal parts were hastily and erratically copied, the rehearsals were rushed and confused, and the final result less a performance than an example of inspired sight-reading. Nevertheless, Bach's different posts and widely dissimilar resources, both vocal and instrumental, allowed him to hear most of these works in a recognizable [...] acceptable fashion, even [...] were far from the perfection [...] he would wish. We who [...] the cantatas today in stereo [...] comfort cushioned by [...] tions whose standard of [...] goes beyond his wildest [...] would do well to trust [...] a learned guide such as [...] His margins are not wide, [...] binding is but linen cloth [...] information is all there [...] price is reasonable.

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Thomas Hardy and Tryphena Sparks

BY ROBERT GITTINGS

[...] July 7, 1968, the Right Reverend Joseph Edward Fison, Bishop of Salisbury, preaching [...] chester at the opening of the [...] Festival there, startled his [...] gation by putting forward the [...] that all Hardy's literary work [...] been an act of atonement for a [...] sin of his youth. The Bishop [...] that the nature of this sin [...] be found in a book he had [...] read. The young Thomas [...] according to this, had had a [...] by a very young girl, ostensibly his cousin, but really his niece. [...] of this, he reproached [...] (inaccurately) with the sin [...] Atonement for this lay at [...] of all his work and of [...] whole attitude to life—the [...] suggested even that it was [...] that the Festival was [...] (in the *Guardian* re[...] words) "all unwittingly". [...] sermon caused a scene in [...] which was itself like some[...] of Hardy. Yet the Bishop [...] confidently, because, he said, [...] had the support of an [...] friend, who was himself a [...] scholar, W. R. Rutland; and [...] Rutland himself, in a letter [...] *Times Literary Supplement* [...] 13, 1969), claimed to be [...] the doyen" of English [...] scholars.

[...] the most extraordinary [...] of this whole bizarre affair is [...] of the book itself, and [...] that it ever could be [...] even at a superficial read[...] a prominent churchman and [...] scholar; for even to [...] non-specialist reader, [...] construction of the book [...] seem highly suspicious. It [...] in conditional sentences [...] "If..." and containing [...] verbs such as "could [...] if A was at a certain place [...] certain time, she *could have* [...] seduced by B, and C *could* [...] their child—and so on. It [...] with written documents [...] arbitrary way. Those that [...] story are said to be true; [...] that do not are said to be [...] wrongly entered on false [...] All these conjectures [...] when they first [...] as conjectures only, but [...] the book are treated as [...] one, it would seem, with [...] knowledge of the nature of [...] or indeed with any basic [...] would accept the [...] it stands on these accounts [...] not only the Bishop and [...] in 1968, but some quite [...] authorities since have [...] the book's findings, if not [...] certainly in the large [...] in 1971, a quite serious [...] work printed a photograph [...] captioned as being a [...] of the illegitimate son of [...] Hardy and his girl-relative.[1] [...] book, in fact, seems to have [...] some sort of hypnotic [...] many people's critical [...] It is, therefore doubly [...] to see how it came into [...] to trace the different [...] in it. In 1966, *Providence* [...] *Hardy* was published by [...] the "authors'" names [...] as Lois Deacon and [...] Coleman. An explanation of [...] authorship is given in a [...] "Author's Note" [...] does not say which [...] composed the note): "The [...] idea was Lois Deacon's, and [...] out, over several years, [...] the greater part of the neces[...] research. The writing is by [...] Coleman." This ignores the [...] manuscript of much [...] book had been submitted [...] to publishers "over [...] years" by Miss Deacon's [...] This version, however, [...] incoherent in most of [...] arrangement and style. Cer[...] credit goes to Mr Cole[...] an extremely professional [...] re-editing and re-writing [...] and for the excellent [...] and standardization of [...].

Mr Coleman modestly—per[...] modestly—claims respon[...] only for the actual writing, [...] to study the ideas and [...] to which he does not lay [...] Miss Deacon's solely. [...] the note goes on to [...] a chance meeting in 1959 [...] someone who said, "My [...] a cousin [second cous[...] of Thomas Hardy and [...] was once engaged to [...] This was the original idea, [...] developed into the book pub[...] seven years later. The [...] and expansion of the ideas [...] from this statement can [...] fairly certainly into [...] stages; in the survey [...] however, one must [...] that these stages cannot be determined in a hard-and-fast way, and must sometimes have overlapped in time.

The first stage is fairly straightforward, and is an expansion of something already vaguely known. In 1940 Irene Cooper Willis, a friend of the second Mrs Thomas Hardy, lawyer, executor and trustee of Mrs Hardy's Estate, stated that when Hardy met his first wife, Emma Gifford, in 1870, he "broke off an understanding that there had been between him and a girl of his own countryside, and bestowed upon Emma the ring intended for the discarded maiden".[2] Twenty years later, Miss Cooper Willis confirmed this story, which, she said, she had had from the second Mrs Hardy. As the result of her chance meeting, Miss Deacon in 1959 was introduced to Mrs Eleanor Tryphena Bromell, then aged 80. Mrs Bromell was the daughter of Hardy's cousin Tryphena Sparks, who had married a man named Charles Gale. She confirmed that Tryphena Sparks was "the discarded maiden", with whom Hardy had once had an understanding. In conversations and letters, she expanded the story, and in many ways gave it a new bearing. According to her, rather than an "understanding" there was an engagement of some years. Hardy did not merely "intend" the ring for Tryphena Sparks: he gave it to her. He still went on seeing her after he had met Emma Gifford in 1870, and it was Tryphena Sparks herself who sent him back the ring, after meeting her own future husband, Charles Gale, probably in 1873. Gale was said to have persuaded her to do this, and to marry him instead, on the grounds that she and Hardy were cousins. According to Mrs Bromell, Hardy never saw Tryphena again; but when she died in 1890, after bearing Charles Gale four children, Hardy and his brother Henry visited her grave at Topsham in Devon, and placed a wreath on it. Her widowed husband refused to see Hardy on that occasion.

There seems little doubt that most of this story is true. It is difficult to say whether Mrs Bromell ever actually spoke of a formal engagement between Tryphena Sparks and Thomas Hardy, but her own daughter did, and Mrs Bromell did not demur when other people spoke of it in those terms. She herself was clear that Tryphena Sparks and Thomas Hardy had "walked out" for some time on the heath between their homes in Dorset, his at Higher Bockhampton and hers at Puddletown. Miss Deacon did considerable work on the rest of Tryphena's life, both before and after her marriage to Charles Gale, which took place on December 15, 1877, just over three years after Hardy's own marriage to Emma Gifford. In 1962 she published all this in a pamphlet.[3] This work, despite a few minor aberrations, is reasonably accurate. Its only faults are a somewhat over-emphatic style—Hardy's association with Tryphena Sparks is called "an enduring and tragic love-story"—and an often arbitrary selection of dates. The "engagement" is dated precisely from late summer, 1867, to early July, 1872, though Mrs Bromell never mentioned these times, and the latter date is contradicted by Miss Deacon herself in *Providence and Mr Hardy*.[4] On the whole, however, the pamphlet is an excellent small-scale work, and would have proved a valuable adjunct to any large-scale biography of Hardy. It is what may be called the first stage.

There were already signs, though, that Miss Deacon was not satisfied to leave it at that, and that her investigations had moved into a second stage, which was to elicit from Mrs Bromell confirmation for ideas that had their sole origins in Miss Deacon's own mind. The chief of these was Miss Deacon's idea that Tryphena Sparks and Thomas Hardy had an illegitimate son. According to a friend, this was already a "surmise"[5], which she had confided to others, as early as September 1960, and probably much earlier. She had also selected, from loose photographs in the Gale family album, lent to her by Mrs Bromell, a photograph of an unidentified boy; this selection seems to have been made quite at random. On September 9, 1960, she showed this photograph to Mrs Bromell, who greeted it with the rather baffling remark, "Oh, that was a little boy who used to come and see Tryphena at Plymouth". Since Tryphena Sparks had moved from Plymouth, where she had been a schoolteacher, to Topsham when she married Charles Gale, her daughter (Mrs Bromell) can never have seen the boy; the identification, even in such vague terms, must have been by hearsay only. In any case, it did not satisfy Miss Deacon's preconceived notion of an illegitimate son, and at various times during the next four years she produced the same photograph, only to receive the same answer. It must be said that in spite of her ever-growing preconception, Miss Deacon did not act as an inquisitor, but always as a friend. She had also seen Mrs Bromell's angry reaction in 1962 to another questioner, who had asked point-blank whether Hardy and Tryphena Sparks had had a child or not.[6]

In January, 1964, however, Mrs Bromell, then aged 85, was admitted to hospital, and died there just over a year later. Miss Deacon claims that for most of this year, Mrs Bromell remained "in full command of her faculties, clear and lucid". According to medical evidence, though, she suffered from cerebral atherosclerosis, primarily, with secondary epileptiform fits. Owing to her main condition of illness she was sometimes confused, and it was, of course, a condition that did not appear overnight, but was one of progressive deterioration. There are, in fact, signs of her being confused in answering questions as early as 1962. Although, again on medical evidence, it is probable that her memory of the remote past was reasonably accurate, her condition did deteriorate still more during the latter part of her life in hospital. By the middle of January, 1965—actually only five or six weeks before her death—Mrs Bromell was, as Miss Deacon herself admits, often confused and wandering in her thoughts. Up to this point she had spoken nothing of an illegitimate son of Hardy and Tryphena Sparks, and had always returned the same indeterminate answer about the portrait of the boy that Miss Deacon had selected. However, in three conversations on January 17, and on February 7 and 10, 1965, she spoke about this picture. She said it was "Hardy's boy" and that "he was a Sparks" and "he was a cousin". She gave his Christian name as Rantie or Randy, short for Randolph or Randal, and said he was also known as Henery (the Christian name of one of Tryphena's uncles). He was first of all brought up by Tryphena's sister, Rebecca, and then by Tryphena's brother Nathaniel, who lived in Bristol. Shown another photograph of a youth, she said that this was the boy grown up, and that he had attended Tryphena's funeral. A fortnight after saying this, Mrs Bromell died.

Mrs Bromell died, it will be observed, without ever saying that Hardy and Tryphena Sparks had an illegitimate son. Once more, medical authority states that it would be wise to treat unsupported statements made by her, during the last few weeks of life, with a degree of caution. Miss Deacon, however, regarded these last interviews as proof that her own preconception of an illegitimate son of Tryphena and Hardy was true. She had completed the second stage of her process, which was related to remarks made by Mrs Bromell, regardless of the circumstances of health in which these remarks were made. The third stage was to allow a number of other preconceptions, not connected in any way with Mrs

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Bromell's words, to have free play. These included, among much else, arbitrary dates for the conception and birth of the alleged son, and a series of illegitimacies, unrecorded in any documents, to advance her theory that Tryphena Sparks was not Hardy's cousin, but really his niece.

This analysis of Miss Deacon's process into three stages will have made it clear that the major part of her story, the conception and birth of a child to Hardy by a young girl who was really his niece, was in what we have called her third stage, based entirely on her own imagination. It does not relate to information given her by Mrs Bromell. This is important to note, since readers and scholars, who have tried to deal with this question in the past half-dozen years have often tended to think it had some basis in something said by Mrs Bromell. In view of this tendency, it must be emphasized that there is no documentary evidence for Miss Deacon's third stage ; or rather that it is based on a denial of all documentary evidence—census returns, birth, marriage, and death entries, and so on—that does not fit her preconceived ideas.

This general attitude towards evidence in her third stage can very easily be illustrated by one simple example. Miss Deacon attached great importance to the conception of the alleged child in the late summer of 1867. "From weather records we know", she writes, "that 1867 was a year with a splendid Indian summer. . . . It was then in the late summer and long, hot autumn of 1867, that he [Hardy] and Tryphena . . . became lovers."[8] She associates this Indian summer with the line "Weeks and weeks we had loved beneath that blazing blue" of Hardy's poem "The Place on the Map", and "the October month of wonderful afternoons" in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. Yet the plain truth is that such a summer in 1867 never existed. Far from consulting any weather records, as she claims, Miss Deacon cannot have looked at them. Nor, perhaps even more strangely, has any scholar (or Bishop). The weather at Weymouth, a few miles from Hardy's home, is given every day in *The Times* ; 1867 was a wet year, with a rainfall above the average, and a bad summer. At Weymouth that August less than half the days had any blue sky at all, and there were only three days of continuous blue. Exactly the same was true of September. Finally, far from there being a long hot Indian summer, the October records show the reverse, as *The Times* duly noted to November 1. The month began by being very cold ; the temperature on October 4 was forty-one degrees. The record for the rest of the month reads :

> Overcast rain, cloudy some blue sky rain, hail and cloud, rain and cloud, cloud some blue sky, overcast rain, overcast rain, fog and cloud, overcast, cloud, overcast and cloud, lightning thunder cloud, overcast cloud, overcast cloud, cloudy and rainy, rain and fog, fog and cloud, cloudy and overcast, cloudy some blue sky, cloudy some blue sky, cloudy blue then rain, cloudy and overcast, overcast mist and rain, overcast fog and mist.

Miss Deacon has invented the whole idea of a long, hot, Indian summer in 1867. Indeed, she was unluckier than she could possible have known. This year of 1867 ushered in a meteorological phenomenon, for which the highly-detailed *London Weather*, by J. H. Brazell (Her Majesty's Stationery Office) has no explanation, though it records the facts. For the next forty years, including this year, there was an almost complete absence over this country of warm Octobers or Indian summers or, whatever they may be called. The long hot summer of Hardy's wooing in 1867 exists only in Miss Deacon's imagination.

It may well be asked why Miss Deacon laid such emphasis on this particular (though, as it proves, non-existent) Indian summer ; and the answer may be that, as is well-known, both Hardy and his girl-cousin had particularly watchful and powerful mothers. The alleged conception would have to take place out-of-doors. The point is, though, that the complete falsification of evidence, the statement that "from weather records we know", when, in fact weather records cannot have been consulted, throws total doubt on all Miss Deacon's methods of "research" in this, the third stage of her investigations. In fact, everything that Miss Deacon, or those who follow her, claim in this third stage can similarly be proved false. There is no evidence of any sort that Tryphena Sparks was Hardy's niece, nor that they had a love-affair producing a child.

What, then, about "Hardy's boy", elicited by Miss Deacon from Mrs Bromell in the second stage of her investigations ? It must be remembered again that medical opinion states that at the time of this questioning it would be wise to treat unsupported statements made by Mrs Bromell with a degree of caution. It is notable that the sole evidence for this boy's existence—for no birth, death, marriage, census, school, apprenticeship or employment records have ever been found for him—depends largely on a statement made by Miss Deacon, and a reply by Mrs Bromell with no witnesses present.[9] Speaking of the home of Tryphena's brother Nathaniel in Bristol, where the boy was supposed to have been largely brought up, Miss Deacon said, "So that there were three boys there altogether", to which Mrs Bromell is said to have replied, "Yes, two boys of his own and Hardy's boy as well". Does this have any supporting evidence, as medical opinion advises it should, before we accept its accuracy ?

In fact, new evidence has appeared, to which I have had access through the kindness of Mrs Anna Winchcombe of Hardy's Cottage. This consists of a section of Sparks family letters, to and from Bristol, at the precise time the "Hardy boy" is said to be living there. They are very full and unconstrained family letters, mentioning in one way or another every member of the family, and deal with every kind of family matter, marriages, births, deaths, money troubles, illness, difficulties with in-laws, work, houses, emigration to Australia, the upbringing and education of children. In none is there the slightest mention of this boy being in the Bristol house ; in fact, two boys only are always specifically mentioned, Nathaniel Sparks's sons, James and Nathaniel junior. About 1883, Rebecca Sparks writes to Nathaniel Sparks's wife at Bristol.[10] She adds "Kiss my two good boys for me". There is no mention of the third boy (who, incidentally, she is supposed to have brought up at an earlier stage). On October, 1884, there is a letter[11], to which one of the two Sparks boys has later added a note. He recalls that he and his brother played a practical joke on an interfering great-aunt, who tried to boss the Bristol home.

He talks about "us two nippers" and says the joke—an attempt to blow up their great aunt with gunpowder—was "not bad for two kids". There is no mention of any third nipper or kid in the household. Their mother, writing from Bristol in 1890[12], speaks of bringing up two boys only, and having taught them both at home. Finally, in 1896, in a very long and detailed letter to a nephew in Australia[13], Nathaniel Sparks himself describes his Bristol household. He also mentions two boys only : "Jim is 19 years old now and Nat is 16 . . . both at the Art School." In short, one has either to imagine an extraordinary, concerted and elaborate conspiracy of silence by this very outspoken and voluble family, or to [...] these letters finally prove [...] third child, "the Hardy boy" [...] existed. Far from supporting [...] is said to have been heard [...] very ill and confused old [...] her death-bed, these letters [...] dict it.

The letters, then, dispose [...] second stage of Miss Deacon's [...] Hardy's son is as much of a [...] the long, hot summer in which [...] said to have been conceived [...] not to say there is no truth [...] first stage. With some reser[...] as has been said, one can [...] most of her pamphlet publ[...] 1962. Its chief fault, as has [...] been said, is the false emph[...] it places on Tryphena, the [...] ing and tragic love-story". [...] as it now appears from [...] research, knew and was [...] a great many girls in his [...] would be wrong to ascribe [...] one of them the motive [...] character of his later wo[...] making of a myth about T[...] and Thomas Hardy, whether [...] on falsified evidence or [...] ported evidence, has confused [...] critical account, biograph[...] handbook published in the [...] half-dozen years ; it is in the [...] of ending the confusion that [...] analysis has been made.

1. F. R. Southerington, *Hardy's Vision of Man*, opposite page 1[...].
2. "Thomas Hardy", an [...] lished signed typescript in the [...] College Library, 4.
3. *Monographs on* ... *Thomas* [...] (MTH), no 3.
4. *Providence and Mr* [...] (PMH), page 22.
5. MTH, no 71.
6. Southerington, page 262.
7. PMH, pages 186-87.
8. PMH, pages 75 and 31.
9. PMH, page 189.
10. Letter, no 16.
11. Letter, no 17.
12. Letter, no 20.
13. Letter, no 23.

The usual and unusual Dickens

PHILIP HOBSBAUM :

A Reader's Guide to Charles Dickens

318pp. Thames and Hudson. £2 (paperback, £1).

MICHAEL GOLDBERG :

Carlyle and Dickens

248pp. Athens : University of Georgia Press. $10.

BERT G. HORNBACK :

"Noah's Arkitecture" : A Study of Dickens' Mythology

182pp. Ohio University Press. $8.50.

ADA NISBET and BLAKE NEVIUS (Editors) :

Dickens Centennial Essays

230pp. University of California Press (IBEG). £3.15.

Philip Hobsbaum's book, in the "Reader's Guide" series, accomplishes its task well. With a minimum of preliminaries, it offers sensible and well-informed guidance on all the books, from *Sketches by Boz* to *Edwin Drood*. Some minor works, such as *Sketches of Young Gentlemen*, *A Life of Our Lord* and "Hunted Down" are relegated to appendixes. "One would hardly gather from the usual treatment of Dickens", Dr Hobsbaum remarks, "that he was throughout his life a busy editor and journalist. A third of the works published by him were articles, essays and reportage, and we are still awaiting for the first adequate study of his non-fictional prose." Indeed we are. Meanwhile Dr Hobsbaum has some valuable pages on the journalism and essays, and also writes well about other minor works, such as the Christmas Stories, and about the significance of the "public-readings" phase of Dickens's career. It is regrettable that, having been so comprehensive in his discussion, he did not also discuss the plays, bad though they are (for, as he shows in his chapter on the Christmas Stories, the feebleness of some of these minor writings relates to flaws in the major ones). Moreover, some consideration of Dickens as a letter-writer and an orator might usefully have been included.

Though not a distinguished critic, Dr Hobsbaum is competent, helpful and provocative in a suitable way for the audience he has envisaged. He has much of interest to say about Dickens's development : the suggestion, for instance, with regard to *Martin Chuzzlewit* that "One problem was that Dickens as a man was developing rapidly, and that his technique could not keep up with him". Biographical particulars are given briefly, at various stages of the argument, and on the whole relevantly and accurately. Dickens's womenfolk, though, tempt Dr Hobsbaum (like many others) to inaccuracy. Maria Beadnell's father was not unimpressed by *Sketches by Boz* : he dismissed Dickens's suit before any had been published. Ellen Ternan did not play opposite Dickens in *The Frozen Deep*, nor was she an Irish actress (her father was Irish, but she spent her life in England). Nor was Phiz Dickens's life-long illustrator.

Appropriately for such a guide, there is a long Bibliography, and Dr Hobsbaum indicates by an asterisk the items he has found not merely useful but indispensable. This is one of the few Dickens bibliographies to list Heath, Rt Hon Edward (useful but not indispensable, which sounds right enough). If the Prime Minister's literary amour-propre is offended, however, he may comfort himself by noting that George Orwell, Robert Garis, George Ford, Barbara Hardy, and F. R. and Q. D. Leavis are in the same ignominious boat with him. Dr Hobsbaum would indeed have been wiser to temper sometimes his own sense of what is indispensable by giving an asterisk to works widely thought so by other reasonable judges.

Michael Goldberg's and Bert G. Hornback's books are unimportant, but illustrate twin vices in academic literary studies : over-involvement with one's predecessors, and, by reaction, undisciplined ingenuity. Dr Goldberg's study of the literary and ideological relationship between Dickens and Carlyle arrives neck-and-neck with one by William Oddie (reviewed in the *TLS* on March 2), and it is a promising topic. Dr Goldberg is at his best in his chapter on the French Revolution as a source for *A Tale of Two Cities* ; his painstaking method pays off here. But overall his study lacks critical edge, and is insufficiently informed about the England which these two authors were criticizing. Broadly speaking, he assumes that both of them were just and accurate in what they wrote about English society and politics, and that Carlyle, the senior and the master, led where Dickens followed. Both these assumptions need qualifying a good deal.

Dr Goldberg's uncertainty as a critic appears in his heavy reliance on his predecessors. Thus, in three successive paragraphs in the book's early pages he cites critics eleven times. His chapter on "The Grotesque" cites Arthur Clayborough's study *The Grotesque in English Literature* eight times, Donald Fanger's *Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism* seven times, Dorothy Van Ghent nine times—and so on, through a further thirteen critics. And these critics are very rarely cited to be disagreed with, or queried, or to illustrate current critical opinion ; the quotations from them are stepping-stones in the argument. Even so unsurprising a concept as the Romantic revolt against the "legacy of eighteenth century rationalism" duly appears in inverted commas and is attributed to Robert Blake, *Disraeli*, page 210. This is as much the scrupulousness and ostentation of the thesis-writer, as it is critical nervousness ; but scholarship which is in such a state of tutelage to previous critics is painfully immature.

Dr Hornback, by contrast, is much more his own man (though he acknowledges J. Hillis Miller's study of Dickens as "the source book for so many of my ideas"). He writes as an enthusiast, even expressing his appreciation, in the conventional acknowledgements page, "to the hundred or so people a year who come to Dickens's birthday party at my home, to help me celebrate him". It is an unusual Dickens they are celebrating, around the University of Michigan. This book sets out "to explore Dickens' mythology", which is "one of the new beginnings, a Genesis mythology. The recurring mythic symbols are the days of Creation, Eden, the Flood, Noah's Ark, and the tower of Babel." Dr Hornback certainly displays much ingenuity in accommodating awkward bits of Dickens to his thesis. "It could be argued that Christmas is as significant a myth for Dickens as Genesis", he remarks, but he's ready for that one : indeed it is, he agrees "but then in Christian terminology, both Noah and Adam are types of Christ, and Christ is 'the new Adam'". But then "Mr Pickwick . . . is the first version of David Copperfield" too, so Bob's your uncle, though who Bob would turn out to be, on these arguments, Dr Hornback alone could say.

The curious information and hitherto unexplored lines of thought contained in this book may be suggested by two footnotes on a page in the chapter on *Little Dorrit* :

> 11. By a curious coincidence, a "Panku"—which is close enough to Pancks, especially when Cavaletto pronounces it "Panco"—is "a being personifying the primeval stuff from which heaven and earth were formed", in Oriental mythology (*Random House Dictionary* [New York, 1967], p. 1043).
>
> 12. It might not be too farfetched to suggest that the varnishers and surface polishers are really good shipbuilders, for their work *is* much like that needed to keep a boat from leaking.

Mrs General sails again !

The book ends with a complete concordance for Dickens's Mythology, which is in fact rather thin, after all that fuss : less than twenty large-print pages. "Eden" is padded out with Mr Pickwick's eventual residence ("The house . . . has a large garden, and is situated in one of the most pleasant spots near London") and by John Westlock's remark, "I don't know this man from Adam". And so on, very much so. By this reckoning, Bertie Wooster is ripe for mythological redevelopment : "By Jove, Jeeves !" Watch out for *God-kissing Carion, or "Carry on, Jeeves" : a Study of Wodehouse's Mythology*.

Dickens Centennial Essays is worth its hard covers. It is a reprint of the Centenary number of *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, except that one contributor, J. Hillis Miller, has substituted for his original essay on "The Sources of Dickens's Comic Art" (an aspect of Dickens he has not much discussed before) his distinguished le[...] *Sketches by Boz*, *Oliver Tw[ist]* [...] Cruikshank's Illustrations [...] noticed in the *TLS*, Octo[ber] [...] 1971). This was one of the [...] substantial Dickens : C[...] issues, as befitted a journal [...] weight. Ada Nisbet contrib[...] all too brief foreword, in wh[...] remarks that "the mid-tw[entieth] century rebirth of Dickens [...] much a phenomenon as his [...] fame with the publication of [*Pick*]*wick*"—partly because, as she [...] following a remark by Che[sterton] "The twentieth century is [...] like Dickens's world than the [...] teenth". Her remarks abou[t] [Dick]ens's "relevance" ("a much [...] word in these days, but it [...] only word relevant here") [...] amplification.

"There is something abo[ut] [...] our sense of Dickens's art", [...] Donoghue writes at the begi[nning of] his contribution ; for instance [...]

> there is our failure wi[th] [...] comedy. We do not know w[hat to] make of it, now that we have [...] the center of our interest [...] from the famous comic sce[nes] [...] It is clear that we take Dick[ens] [...] as we find him, but as we [...] him.

This is well said, [...] "English Dickens" that he p[...] instead of (for instance) the [...] Kafkaesque one, is well [...] through a discussion of *Dom[bey and]* *Son*—though the comedy [...] usual, ignored.

Professor Donoghue is one [of the] contributors who have not [pre]viously written much about Di[ckens]. Most of them are familiar [...] this beat : K. J. Fielding [...] *Hard* [...] Anne Smith) on "Dicken[s] [...] George H. Ford on "Dickens [...] the Voices of Time", B[...] Hardy on Dickens and the P[...] Sylvère Monod on *A Tale of* [*Two*] *Cities*, Harry Stone on furthe[r] [...] collected Dickens items fro[m] [...] periodicals. All these essays [...] valuable. Particularly interes[ting] [...] Professor Fielding's attempt [...] locate and account for a major [...] in Dickens's apprehension [...] society, around 1853-54. An[...] revert to Dr Goldberg's topic [...] is an acute essay, by Michael S[...] on the presence of Douglas Je[rrold] [...] as well as Carlyle, in *The Ch[imes]* [...]

[O]ne-city man

[...] CUPITT :

[Crisis] of Moral Authority : [...] [Dis]arrangement of Christianity

[...] Lutterworth. £2.80.

[...] maintain that revival of [...] faith would lead to a [...] in morality. The Church [...] [clai]med that the widespread [...] of it is due to doctrinal and [...] [intellect]ual difficulties and is making [...] to restate its theology. But [...] diagnosis correct ? For in [...] Amos to Bertrand Russell [...] of organized religion has [...] always been moral criticism. [...] [S]pirit, as readers of his earlier [*Chr*]*ist and the Hiddenness of* [*God*] [...] May 28, 1971) know, has a [...] sharp as Ockham's razor—[...] perhaps as painful on tender [...] concern in that book was [...] building a philosophical theo[...] he has now come to believe that [...] in which all the Churches [...] [invol]ved is not so much theologi[cal] [...] [eth]ical—a crisis of moral auth[ority].

[...] doubt the Church's loss of [...] authority is partly due to [...] [soc]ial causes. In our pluralist [...] there is and can be no single [...] [sys]tem which is universally [...] [ack]nowledged, so that people no [...] accept the Church's right to [...] on behalf of the whole pop[ulation]. [...] They resent its attempt to [...] absolute norms on a relativ[...] [...] situation and attack it as [...] an authoritarian establish[ment]. [...] but is it possible that there [...] [dee]per causes, that—as many [...] freethinkers have pro[...] [...] Christian morality is in [...] [def]ective?

[...] Mill declared that the God [...] Christians is "the *ne plus* [...] of wickedness". Many great [...] has felt the strain between [...] was then regarded as Chris[tian or]thodoxy and a God in whom [...] [...]es could believe.

[...] undeniably true that many [...] have held beliefs that [...] morally repulsive. Augustine's [...] doctrine of hell was [...] [pr]ovoked James Mill to his [...] But how many Christians [...] believe that ? You must [...] "Christianity teaches" if [...] mean "Some Christians [...]" ; and the difficulty in [...] inquiry is to know what [...] morality itself is. For the [...] certainly carried along [...] sub and non-Christian [...] from older religions and [...] [cult]ures, and it has not yet [...] them out of its system.

There is clearly need, as Mr Cupitt says, for "a moral purge of the Christian tradition". This is, however, already going on, at a pace that alarms many, in all the churches, and what matters is : What do Christians believe now ?

The charge has been made that traditional Christian teaching has tended to be morally reactionary. Has it not inculcated a morbid asceticism and a pathological attitude to virginity ? Has it not reinforced the subjection of women and for far too long condoned slavery ? (A predecessor of Mr Cupitt's, a former Dean of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, John Cotton, was himself a slave-owner in New England.) Has it not made for war, for hatred and cruelty ? These charges are examined in detail by Mr Cupitt, with evidence called on both sides, and in the end the Christian case wins, but only by an extremely narrow margin. It is not an enthusiastic conclusion. But the tone of the book is astringent to a degree.

What seems to emerge from all this is that Christian morality has no static, finally fixed content. What it offers, rather, is a creative and radical critique—derived from the creativity of Christ—of all established systems of morality, including some that are commonly called Christian. The leaven is always trying to penetrate the culture in which the Church may be embodied, but there are times when the dough has proved too heavy for it. For this reason, one questions the author's plea for what he calls a "one-city theology" in place of the traditional two cities. If the Church is not distinct from the world it will be only too easily overwhelmed by it—is not that the lesson of the whole book ?

As Plato wanted to ban the Homeric stories because they presented the gods as immoral, so Mr Cupitt believes that the fundamental problem is the great Christian myth of cosmic redemption—Creation, Fall, Incarnation, Atonement, Salvation—indeed the old, old story itself, which, he says, inevitably leads, however told, to repellent ideas of God, as anthropomorphic, harsh and authoritarian. "The Story should be abandoned." But that is a good deal easier to say in a senior combination room than in the pulpit. Mr Cupitt asks whether the demand for a new body of fundamental images is really a demand for a new religion, but he leaves one in some doubt as to his own answer. The subtitle of his book is ominously suggestive, but it probably misrepresents his position.

Whole and holy

J. G. DAVIES :

Every Day God
Encountering the Holy in World and Worship.

386pp. SCM Press. £3.75.

This book is characteristic of the mental confusion and theological flabbiness, as well as of the earnest virtues of much current Christian thought. The virtues of *Every Day God* can be briefly stated : an admirable attempt is made to make use of novels, films, television programmes, current affairs, psychology, anthropology, architecture and sociology in elaboration of the main thesis. But there is one thing missing : theology. J. G. Davies's examination of Scripture is so cursory and his investigation of what it means to be holy is so shallow that his comments on all this varied material are, at least from the Christian point of view, quite unilluminating.

His starting-point is a desire to supersede Rudolph Otto's notion of the holy as the numinous, the "mysterium tremendum", the awe-inspiring, and to do this for a hominized, secularized world. So far so good. Otto's notion was certainly not fully Christian, and any attempt to eradicate false conceptions of the sacred and present the world as God's world, in which the gulf has been bridged between God and man, must be, to some extent at any rate, in harmony with the biblical approach.

The trouble is that Professor Davies fails to replace Otto's notion with an adequate one of his own. It is perfectly correct to say, as he does, that in Christianity the distinction between sacred and profane has been broken down. But the holy, in the Christian view, is not simply to be understood by being distinguished from (or identified with) the profane. It must be equated with wholeness, with moral goodness, and it must be contrasted with evil, with sin, with ill-will, negation and destruction.

The dichotomy between good and evil unfortunately still exists in world affairs ; and it is the failure of theologians like Professor Davies and John A. T. Robinson to do justice to this dichotomy that makes their work so unimpressive. Not that one is urging a return to dualism ; the point here is that not only is evil overlooked, but that the positive content of holiness is not seen or investigated. "To speak of holiness as a moral quality is, therefore, despite the strong ethical note sounded in the New Testament, incorrect", says Professor Davies. "It is rather a life-style, characterized by a relation to the holy which is actualized by loving self-giving". Relationships, yes, of course ; that is how God is defined. But why exclude qualities, especially if the New Testament has something to say about them ?

Theologians who talk only of relationships, involvement and life-styles without giving detailed attention to the new character that we have to acquire and to the real actions which we have to perform, are not very convincing. This is not only because they seem uninvolved and inexperienced themselves, but because they have not absorbed what the New Testament has to say.

Signs of an insufficient attention to the texts appear, for example, in the absence in *Every Day God* of a proper treatment of Jesus's relationship with God the Father. The Father is mentioned briefly, almost dismissively, by Professor Davies ; and yet holiness, for Jesus, consisted precisely in his obedience to the Father. He was, humanly speaking, gracious ; but that grace was not human in its origin, it was divine.

The same inadequacy emerges when the author discusses the eucharist. And when he comes to sex and personal relationships then things really go haywire. It is the particularly English problem of the former puritan trying to find his balance. Dr Robinson is once again quoted, this time in his incredibly simpliste statement at the Lady Chatterley trial, that for D. H. Lawrence, coitus is "in a real sense an act of holy communion"—"in a real sense", the phrase, so dear to preachers, which only betrays the vagueness of their thoughts.

Dr Robinson and Professor Davies have forgotten the profound ambiguity of sex, the difference between the sacred groves of Canaan and the Temple in Jerusalem within which Israel learnt the lessons of the Law of God and of his personal love for mankind.

To keep sex holy, in the New Testament perspective, much more than a "loving relationship" is needed ; that love has to be guided by a knowledge of the true God, of the community he has brought into being and of his purpose for mankind. Instead of quoting Margery Kempe as "typical of much Christian teaching", Professor Davies could well have dug more deeply in the Bible and in the massive evidence of centuries of Christian theology and literature to produce a real alternative to D. H. Lawrence and Rudolph Otto.

[N]ewmanistics

[...] THEIS :

[...] Newman in unserer Zeit

[Nür]nberg : Glock und Lutz.

[...] Theis is a leading member [...] group of continental scholars [...] done so much to advance [...] of Newman's life and [...] since the end of the Second [World] War. With Pierre Frieden, Fr [...] helped to organize the first [Internation]al Newman Congress [...] the himself prophetically [...] as "a landmark and turn[ing point] in the history of [...]". Fr Theis is the [...] Secretary and President of [...] [...]es and it is only fitting [...] work on Newman should have been published under its auspices.

Newman in unserer Zeit is divided into a biographical section, followed by a discussion of Newman's attitude towards education and his approach to problems of faith and reason. Fr Theis has avoided those mistakes and misinterpretations which are sometimes found in popular accounts. It is no easy task to write a popular account of the life and thought of Newman, and Fr Theis's book is a personal tribute to Newman, rather than a critical study : his bibliography is not sufficiently selective for the general student, nor complete enough for the scholar. Whatever its merits, this book offers no competition to Stephen Dessain's standard biography, *John Henry Newman*.

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This distinguished study of the life of St Francis is marked by John Holland Smith's concern to show that Francis and his mission can be appreciated only when it is considered against the background of the world in which he lived and worked. He was born into a world distraught by endemic wars, some of which were international, but in Italy it was a matter of little state fighting state and city fighting city. It was a world in which the Church was everywhere involved, for Papal armies were the rule, and the Crusades provided a distracting outlet for military, and profitable, adventure. At the same time the Church was under vigorous criticism for its abounding wealth and its claim to an overriding power, a situation which consorted ill with the Gospels' teaching, and the protest was producing all manner of groups of Cathars, societies of "poor men", which were often far from orthodox and were sometimes in violent opposition to the Church's position of authority. Further it was a world whose fundamental aim was wealth, and in consequence extreme poverty was rife.

That is to say that from this point of view Francis can be seen as the product of his age. His was not the only voice raised to assert that there was something deeply amiss with contemporary society, nor was his the only group that was proclaiming peace, denouncing wealth, and speaking against the power politics of the Papacy. It was difficult for the Pope not to see him and his followers as Cathars, and to be deeply suspicious. But Francis was theologically and spiritually orthodox, and he saved himself and his movement by his determination to secure the Papal approval for his Rule. The first Rule, consisting of some passages from the Gospels, was obviously too vague, and the discussion which led to eventual approval dragged on for some years while the number of his followers steadily increased, and the reputation of Francis rapidly mounted higher. The succession of Popes could not help seeing that they were dealing with someone and something that could not be suppressed.

That in the end approval was obtained was largely due to the insight of Brother Elias, and it is one of the marks of Mr Smith's book that this man, who has often been represented as a traitor to Francis, gets a fair hearing. Elias was devoted to Francis, but he saw that, while Francis himself might safely follow his vision, the idea could only be perilously handed to anyone and everyone who persuaded Francis to accept him as a follower. The world could not properly be filled with untrained evangelists begging an uncontrolled course across Europe. Elias saw that the Popes were right in asking for some central control, in insisting that newcomers must serve a period of training and discipline before they faced the hardships and temptations of the world, and that while, if it could be agreed that individual members of the Order could not hold property, yet the Order could possess on "permanent loan" houses into which the brethren could be collected after a journey for refreshment and advice. Elias looked at the real world, and saw that for the generality of men another man's vision was not enough, and patiently he worked for the modification of the Rule.

To Francis himself this did seem like betrayal. The freedom to follow the vision wherever it led was gone, and he grieved his way to the stigmata and to a speedy canonization by public acclaim. His grief was genuine, and quite free from anything like pique, for the betrayal which he saw was of the vision of the Good Life. He did not see himself as a saint, but as a man called divinely to follow Christ in poverty and teaching, and the modified Rule seemed to him the rejection of his call by the Church itself. It was a traumatic experience engendering doubts of everything. For him the doubts were resolved on Mount Avernus by the vision of a Seraph, and, with the marks of Christ's Passion on his body, he staggered back an obviously dying man. What he did not see, and could not know until time disclosed it after his death, was that the modified Rule did in fact enclose his vision. The call to poverty and simplicity of life would remain to challenge the world's very different ideals, and, what is even more to the point, though being what he was he could not see it, he himself would remain a very disturbing figure, the man most like Christ in the Christian years. All was very far from being lost.

INTERFACE

is a new imprint of Gordon and Breach. The first books under this imprint are from our Social Change series—important works from the counter-culture, under the general editorship of Victor Gioscia.

Galaxies of Life : The Human Aura in Acupuncture and Kirlian Photography.
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Every civilization holds on to the few central axioms supporting its frontiers in art, science and belief. When these axis collapse, an era of epistemological havoc follows generating ritual, repetition and slow entropy. What these assumptions were and what they are likely to become are the questions Gillette asks then answers, reflecting his subtle genius in brilliant words and stunning drawings.
1973 210pp. Cloth £4.15 Paper £1.65

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41-42 William IV Street,
London, W.C.2.

Hoers and hunters

JACQUES MAQUET :
Africanity
Translated by Joan R. Rayfield
188pp. Oxford University Press. £3.60 (paperback, £1.10).

Jacques Maquet is treading on dangerous ground. Africanity, the "totality of cultural features common to the hundreds of societies of sub-Saharan Africa", is not the sort of concept which anthropologists generally use. This is probably because most anthropologists are hesitant to leave the security of their own region. When they do, they tend to compare social phenomena in a selective way. Even then, comparativists like George P. Murdock demonstrably fail to meet the canons of rigorous scholarship. But Professor Maquet wants to do more than engage in selective comparison; he feels it is desirable to develop a total comparison so that he can show the uniform distinctiveness of Black Africa.

No doubt this is a commendable activity, but we might ask whether there is any hope of it succeeding. Professor Maquet tackles Africanity in a rather curious way. He announces the fact of cultural unity after just eight pages of general comment. Instead of continuing to support this controversial finding, he attempts to explain the occurrence of the phenomenon. He is putting the cart before the horse; he explains Africanity before telling us much about its general nature.

The explanation itself is quite simple. Sub-Saharan Africa has been relatively isolated from the rest of the world, but within traditional Africa cultural elements spread rapidly from their points of origin, so diminishing the distinctiveness of the constituent societies. Furthermore, although the "life experiences" of African pastoralists, hunters, forest cultivators and savanna agriculturists are markedly different, they have one crucially important thing in common:

> Obtaining the necessities of life is not easy and requires constant effort; survival is always unsure, for the margin is narrow, and every year there is a critical period of scarcity. In this narrow but fundamental aspect, the African's existential experience is everywhere the same.

Professor Maquet makes the most of this construction. In good American fashion he builds an edifice on the consequences of productive techniques. The whole cultural spectrum is taken to rest on, and be permeated by, a general material base. Not many British anthropologists would accept that the system of productive techniques is "essentially the same" throughout Black Africa, and they would certainly hesitate to make so much of the supposed primacy of hoeing, hunting, or even scarcity.

In the next chapter Professor Maquet finally gets down to the job of demonstrating that Africanity has "a positive, rich, material content". By and large, his remarks ring most true when they admit cross-cultural variation. Whenever he maintains a general point he ceases to be very convincing. It has to be a rash man who can attach much significance, let alone truth, to the opinion that "the philosophy of participating in the total life of the world, the constant attempt to increase power, the awareness of the primacy of the group over the individual, all constitute one more aspect of Africanity".

Professor Maquet is at his best when he turns to the prospects of Africanity. He is at his worst when he presents a thumbnail sketch of a hundred traditional societies: what sort of classification is it that can bracket the Nuer with the Nyoro in the "civilization of the spear" category? But even when he is at his best accuracy is not his strongest point. Indeed, it is precisely because remarks of the type "Africa is universalizing rather than westernizing" are so poorly substantiated that this chapter is so thought-provoking.

Africanity fails to convince. Professor Maquet implies that Africanists could do well to look for additional scales of discourse or comparison, yet his own attempt to give Africanity some explanatory and descriptive power does not come off. He forgets a point which Evans-Pritchard made some time ago: that we should compare within relatively distinct cultural areas before moving to larger concerns. The moral of *Africanity*, if we did not already know it, is that it is easier to compare two cultures than it is to juggle with a continent. Most anthropologists have their hands full interpreting or comparing their peoples with their own Western cultures. When it comes to comparing different groups, the same anthropologists are quite justifiably cautious of increasing their burden in arithmetical progression.

It is not simply that it is easier to speak of differences than it is to concentrate on similarities, for in the last resort anthropology owes its existence to what cultures have in common. But we must not make Professor Maquet's mistake and forget that the farther one casts one's net the more difficult it is to pull it back in. Anthropologists are gradually learning how to handle their "own" cultures. Mr Maquet, on the other hand, covers so much ground that he has no time to remember these lessons. Consequently, he adds little other than mistaken impressions. His failure to face up to the immensely difficult task of adding a new dimension to the comparative method is all the more unfortunate in that *Africanity* is meant to be a popular book.

Multicultural

JEAN POIRIER (Editor) :
Ethnologie régionale
Volume 1 : Afrique—Océanie
1,608pp. Paris : Gallimard. 95fr.

The "Encyclopédie de la Pléiade" has now published the first volume of a world ethnology, which deals with the culture and sociology of Africa and Oceania. With twenty-five international experts to help him, Jean Poirier has produced a text that will long remain a standard work of reference for anthropologists, administrators and others with an interest in these areas. This is not a book that anyone will rush to read before its contents become dated; in fact, it is not a work that will be read from cover to cover by anyone but the devoted bibliophile.

The first major problem for the editor was how to divide and select his material and then, equally important, how to present it. M Poirier honestly admits to leaving the order of presentation to "des préoccupations de circonstances" and, although a great deal of planning has gone into the volume, an imbalance is quickly evident. The impression given is that the experts were allowed very much a free hand in the organization of their own particular area and essays. They all, naturally enough, attempt a description of basic themes such as "history", "economic organization", etc, and try to fit in as much information about the areas and groups discussed as possible; but it is easier for Lucien Demesse to write thirty pages on a particular group like the Pygmies and give a competent grounding of facts on their whereabouts, artefacts and organization, than for Vincent Monteil to do the same in twenty pages for the whole of Egypt and Libya, incorporating all the ethnic groups found within their boundaries.

This discrepancy can be seen more clearly if one compares three selected essays in the encyclopedia: Henri Lhote on North Africa and the Sahara, Professor Monteil on Islamic Africa and Bengt Danielsson on Polynesia. M Lhote, in a bizarrely but beautifully illustrated article, provides an introductory forty pages on history and art in prehistoric Sahara, his specialist interest, and then a twenty-page summary of the six main population groups with their particular historical and cultural traits. This is an effective enough approach for those wanting information about art and history, but a little difficult if the reader's [illegible] political organization or [illegible] Lhote also leaves himself [illegible] of space in which to [illegible] of his expertise on the [illegible] fessor Monteil is also given [illegible] launch into quite a detailed [illegible] of his specialist interest [illegible] Africa. He does this in a [illegible] orderly manner, so that [illegible] can still use the material [illegible] ence. The third technique [illegible] chosen by most of the other [illegible] and is typified in the Swedish [illegible] pologist, Bengt Danielsson [illegible] about Polynesia; there [illegible] traditional division of subjects [illegible] into such categories as [illegible] mics, social and political [illegible] tion, conflict, religion, [illegible] recreation and acculturation.

The overall result, [illegible] that some regions are [illegible] more comprehensively [illegible] others and some topics [illegible] more detail than others. [illegible] those who expect an [illegible] to provide a body of [illegible] that will enable the research[er] [illegible] to select cross-cultural [illegible] under the general [illegible] Africa, Oceania or Ethno[logy] [illegible] volume might be something [illegible] disappointment. On the other [hand] we are more than compensated [illegible] this in finding excellent [illegible] material not normally [illegible] an encyclopedia. Students [illegible] pleased, for example, to [illegible] Poirier's own careful essay [illegible] ture and Acculturation, [illegible] true to French tradition, [illegible] construct a scheme of class[ification] [illegible] for all past cultural traits [illegible] fies interpretation and [illegible] by the ordinary ethnologist [illegible] more general themes are [illegible] José Garanger, who gives [illegible] mary of the archaeology [illegible] peoples of Oceania, and [illegible] Beauchene, who does the [illegible] although more cursorily, [illegible] African continent.

In general, this [illegible] volume in the "Encyclopédie de la Pléiade" is a positive [illegible] the worlds both of ethn[ology] [illegible] reference. Its main defect [illegible] from the editor's unenviable [illegible] in trying to draw a balance [illegible] "reference" and "analy[sis]" [illegible] evitably, he could not fully [illegible] supporters of either [illegible] British ethnologist [illegible] find that this book [illegible] gap in his reference [illegible] it does in his analyt[ical] [illegible] that after all is what an [illegible] should do.

Mammon's servant

KENNETH W. J. POST and GEORGE D. JENKINS :
The Price of Liberty
Personality and Politics in Colonial Africa.
494pp. Cambridge University Press. £8.

This is a volume in the "African Studies" series, edited by J. R. Goody, Director of African Studies at Cambridge, and it is evident that it was printed in the United States. It is the biography of Adegoke Adelabu, a native of the large town of Ibadan, in the Western Region of Nigeria. The authors were given the use of Adelabu's papers and quote from them.

Adelabu was born in 1914 or 1915 and educated first at a missionary school and then at the government secondary school at Ibadan. He gained a scholarship at the Yaba Higher College at Lagos in 1936 but left after some six months to take a clerical post with a commercial firm in his home town. He said that this was to support his aged father and his sisters but, according to his teacher at Yaba, his "god was certainly Mammon", and throughout his life he was concerned with a desire to make money.

His political ambitions were always allied to this concern. He did not long remain in commercial work (some of his dealings were not appreciated by his European employers), but became involved in Ibadan politics, where he soon became a popular leader of one faction. He became a follower of Nnamdi Azikwe, the president of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, which was strong in the Eastern Region and mainly Ibo, but was weak in the Western (Yoruba) Region, where the Action Group, led by Obafemi Awolowo was the strongest. Elected to the Regional House of Assembly in 1951, Adelabu quickly became the leader of the minority NCNC in the Western Region. In 1954 he was elected to the Federal House of Assembly, where his party, allied to the Northern People's Congress (NPC), was in power, and Adelabu was appointed a minister of the federal government.

He was thus on the government side in the Federal Administration and led the opposition in the Western Region Assembly. He was one of the representatives of Nigeria at the constitutional conference in London in 1957 which led to independence in 1960, and on his way back to Nigeria after the conference he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He did not live to see the independence of Nigeria, being killed in a motor accident in 1958. His followers refused to believe that his death was accidental and serious rioting followed in Ibadan in which at least eighteen people were killed, mostly members of the Action Group.

Adelabu was undoubtedly popular in Ibadan and was a natural leader and demagogue, but his violent nature and his drinking habits antagonized many. His Muslim colleagues in the federal parliament were shocked by his addiction to drink, and his participation in political brawls led to his appearances in court. Towards the end of his life relations between him and Azikwe cooled appreciably. It is significant that "his eldest son, on behalf of his wives", wrote to him when he was in London for the constitutional conference, urging him "not to fight with anybody" and not to drink "too much beer".

Adelabu was continually worried about his financial position, which is not surprising when one realizes that when he died (as a Muslim) he left seventeen widows and sixteen living children. He is said by his biographers to have had boundless self-confidence and to have wanted power and money. He was always bombastic.

It is possible that this book may be of interest to students of Ibadan and Western Region politics and to the surviving relatives and friends of Adelabu, but it is doubtful whether it will have any wider appeal. It goes into considerable detail in describing the life of a not very important politician. The price is very high. There are three sketch maps and a few illustrations showing Adelabu and some of his contemporaries.

There is a curious mistake at page 15, where it is stated that indirect rule was initiated by Northern Nigeria officials "before the amalgamation of 1914 and later given full theoretical expression by Lugard". In fact, Lord Lugard introduced indirect rule in 1900 when he became High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria.

The French way

PIERRE ALEXANDRE (Editor) :
French Perspectives in African Studies
240pp. Oxford University Press for the International African Institute. £4.20.

This is a collection of thirteen essays by French scholars in anthropology and related fields, along with a brief introduction by the editor. Appropriately, an essay (1954) by the doyen of French Africanists, the late Marcel Griaule, is included, but the other contributions all date from the 1960s: Griaule on the use of myth to explain a kinship relation, Geneviève Calame-Griaule on the stylistic analysis of a Dogon text, Germaine Dieterlen on the use of myth to understand the liminality of blacksmiths, Annie and Jean-Paul Lebeuf on the use of myth to understand the significance of royal palaces, Denise Paulme on blood-brotherhood, Georges Balandier on economic change, Paul Mercier on marriage and urban research, Gilles Sautter on regional geographic studies, Pierre Alexandre on the translation of modern political terms into African languages, Claude Meillassoux on a Marxian approach to hunting economies, Yves Person on oral tradition and the establishment of true chronologies, and Jacqueline Zemplini-Rabain on child-training and the inculcation of peer-values among the Wolof.

In his foreword Daryll Forde concedes that serious scholars of West African societies are [illegible] tent in both French and [illegible] and therefore these [illegible] may appear unnecessary, [illegible] tains that these will prove [illegible] students not yet mastering [illegible] ature. However, these essays [illegible] specialized that no one but [illegible] sional anthropologist [illegible] siderable background in [illegible] likely to make much sense [illegible] them and would certainly [illegible] to judge their validity. For [illegible] part, these works are of [illegible] theoretical value, although [illegible] Messrs Alexandre, Meillassoux [illegible] Zempleni-Rabain make [illegible] points, but hardly ones as [illegible] their authors imply. If, as [illegible] maintains, these are typical [illegible] rent French social anthro[pology] [illegible] then that circle of writers [illegible] of theoretical value to offer [illegible] and American researchers [illegible] writers exhibit a surprising [illegible] awareness of classic social [illegible] theory, even of the French [illegible] such as Durkheim, Mauss [illegible] Gennep, and what assumptions [illegible] do manifest (such as their [illegible] upon myth as an explanatory [illegible] for other social institutions [illegible] seem unproductive and wrong [illegible]

Lacking a central theme [illegible] kind of broad, common [illegible] orientation, these papers are [illegible] hodgepodge of ethnographic [illegible] pets and low-level theoretical [illegible] ulation. This makes them [illegible] than many of the other [illegible] find their way into scholarly [illegible] nals but hardly qualifies [illegible] special translation and [illegible] in the form of an expensive [illegible]

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[illegible] BRAUND :
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[illegible] Melbourne : Wren. Distri[illegible] David and Charles. £3.95.

[illegible] (or, more properly, [illegible] for we must include [illegible] many from Scotland, [illegible] Ireland) in the East has [illegible] a figure of fun, derision [illegible] When the British Raj was [illegible] he was, so much of the [illegible] would give us to believe, [illegible] inflexible, snobbish and [illegible] disdainful of the peoples [illegible] he had to deal. There was [illegible] park in the European [illegible] Shanghai from which, so the [illegible] dogs and Chinese were [illegible] There were those great [illegible] dismissed Gandhi as a [illegible] The Englishman, and his [illegible] clung to traditional [illegible] They changed for din[illegible] regarded native customs as [illegible] They felt superior to the [illegible] masses surrounding [illegible] tried to make the East [illegible] like home as possible. They [illegible] outside the hill station. [illegible] according to this version, [illegible] looked down on [illegible] within the English camp [illegible] also find a hierarchy of [illegible] The Officials, those con[illegible] with Government, looked [illegible] the Commercials, the Box, [illegible] those connected with trade. [illegible] the Officials, even, there [illegible] division between Civil and [illegible] and these two major cate[illegible] could be subdivided again [illegible] all this is really no [illegible] grotesque caricature.

There are veins of truth but reality is not reflected. Somerset Maugham did not, in other words, penetrate to the fundamental strengths of the British Empire, both political and economic, though he perceived many of its more obvious weaknesses. Yet a Maughamish approach permeates much recent writing about the political history of the British Empire and the social history of the English overseas.

There is, for example, the concept of the "colonial enclave", a concept particularly favoured by economic historians who had but recently emerged from their playpens when the British Empire came to an end. In fact, in a curious way, the "colonial enclave" is much more a reality today, after the death of empire, than it was in the high noon of imperialism; and people like the Swedes and Norwegians, who have little or no imperial history, are to be found in the "colonial enclave" today just as much as the English.

The truth of the matter is that without a great deal of understanding of and communication with Oriental peoples the British Empire in Asia could never have arisen, let alone been administered for as long as it was; and likewise British economic influence would not have penetrated to the remotest corners of the Orient. A superb example of the meeting of East and West in the nineteenth century is provided by the rise of the Brooke dynasty in Sarawak. It was not the Maxim gun that won Sarawak from the Sultan of Brunei but diplomacy and understanding on the part of the Brooke Dynasty of White Rajas who had to deal, on the one hand, with the British, and on the other with their Malay and Dyak subjects, not to mention the Chinese who came to Sarawak under the protection of their rule.

Nicholas Tarling has produced a truly monumental account of all this in his *Britain, the Brookes and Brunei*, which must surely become the definitive study of Sarawak history in the nineteenth century—Professor Tarling effectively brings his story to a close about two-thirds of the way through the reign of the second Brooke Raja, Sir Charles Brooke, who died in 1917.

The Brookes were exceptional people, and one should not expect to find their story repeated. Yet there can be no doubt that Brooke-like qualities were to be found among many Englishmen in the East as late as the middle of the twentieth century, and among Civilians as well as Officials.

Take Tan Sri Mubin Sheppard, for example, whose *Taman Indera* is something rather more than a study of Malay decorative arts and pastimes. Mubin Sheppard, formerly M.C. ff. Sheppard, CMG, was an official in the Malayan Civil Service who by the end of the British period had risen to high office. Of Anglo-Irish extraction and with all the superficial attributes of his class and background, he could at one time have easily been dismissed as just another colonial administrator destined to retirement in some equivalent of Bournemouth or Cheltenham. In fact, Mr Sheppard is in his own way as remarkable and interesting a character as the second Raja Brooke. A man of great moral and physical courage—it is said that he had to be restrained by force from attempting single-handed to drive the Japanese invaders off Kota Bharu airport, and later he survived most brutal treatment at the hands of the Japanese *kempetei*—he also has manifested considerable artistic creativity.

For example, the National Museum in Kuala Lumpur, for which he was very largely responsible, is not only one of the most interesting modern buildings in a city of post-colonial concrete, but also it is one of the very few successful attempts to combine reinforced concrete with traditional Malay designs and craftsmanship. The Kuala Lumpur National Museum leads one logically enough to *Taman Indera*, "the royal pleasure ground", for it is in a way a book version of the galleries relating to Malay culture which Mr Sheppard devised for the National Museum.

Mr Sheppard is by no means the first British member of the Malayan official establishment to write on Malay culture. Wilkinson and Winstedt are but two who did. He differs from his predecessors, however, in one very important respect. He is really concerned with the practice as well as the theory. *Taman Indera*, a most attractively produced volume, tells one how things work as well as what they mean. Thus whether he is dealing with shadow plays, the tying of head-cloths, top-spinning, kite-flying, women's hair-styles, or traditional Malay methods of fighting with *kris* and with fists and feet, the approach is diagrammatic. One feels that Mr Sheppard really knows *how* these things are done, not merely that they are done. The whole book testifies to the degree in which Tan Sri Haji Mubin Sheppard has managed to penetrate the Malay cultural world. In this it is unlikely that he can be equalled by more than a handful of Europeans.

An official of the British Empire in Asia as Mr Sheppard was, would be obliged, particularly if he served in an administrative post away from the big cities, to learn local languages and understand local customs. His start in Malay cultural studies is not difficult to understand. For the Commercial such an approach to non-European customs and manners was not so obviously important. Yet there can be no doubt that throughout the East there were European employees of non-Asian companies who managed to bring about profound mergers of East and West.

Some, as it used to be said, simply "went native"—that is to say, married locally and were absorbed totally into the local scene. Such men rarely write memoirs. Others preserved their own culture intact while acquiring a deep understanding of the ways and outlook of the non-European people with whom they had to deal. Such a person is Harold Braund, who worked for many years in Burma both as a servant of a large European concern and later as a soldier. Harold Braund writes with great wit in *Distinctly I Remember*, but he certainly could not produce anything like *Taman Indera*.

His Burma, until the arrival of the Japanese, was superficially the world of the club, tennis, classical records on the gramophone, and thoughts about home leave. Yet Mr Braund had to learn Burmese, had to live for long periods in remote places and foul climates, and had to acquire an understanding of the various peoples of Burma which was to stand him in good stead when he fought the Japanese in command of a unit of Chin Levies.

The relationship between the Chin soldiers and their British officers must have been profound. In the face of the collapse of British power in Asia after Pearl Harbor they, like several other Burmese hill people, remained loyal to the British when the advantages of disloyalty must have been all too apparent.

Mr Braund is too modest and insufficiently analytical in his literary training to try and work out exactly what it was that made, for example, the Chin-British relationship possible; but from his writing one can see clearly that one reason was that among both the British official establishment and the Box-wallahs in Burma there were several men like him whose simplicity, integrity and understanding must have won the heart of many a tribesman. Mr Braund's memoirs, Mr Sheppard's guide to Malay culture, and Professor Tarling's study of the first and second Brooke Rajas are very different in subject matter; but they all show various aspects of one process, of Anglo-Asian relationship without which the British Empire in Asia would surely have had a very different shape.

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[illegible]ics

[illegible] Selected Essays on [illegible] Growth of the Social[illegible] the Mixed Economy. 176pp. [illegible] University Press. £3.

[illegible] of essays, selected by [illegible] author before his [illegible] sequel to the similar [illegible] the capitalist economy [illegible] in 1971. Two essays on [illegible] problem of investment [illegible] in a socialist economy, [illegible] Polish and Russian in[illegible] made available in Eng[illegible] first time. The core of [illegible] an introduction to the [illegible] economic growth first pub[illegible] Blackwell in 1969; this [illegible] Kalecki's celebrated refu[illegible] the argument of Maurice [illegible] A. K. Sen that it may [illegible] be reasonable to increase [illegible] of capital employed per [illegible] output even when there is an [illegible] supply of labour. [illegible] essay is a fascinating dis[illegible] previously published in the [illegible] Coexistence in 1967, of the [illegible] and economic behaviour of [illegible] regimes" in which [illegible] of the lower-middle [illegible] amalgamated with state [illegible] Such regimes (e.g. India, [illegible] advantageous both to the [illegible] young men of the lower [illegible] for whom the state [illegible] openings, and to the [illegible] who benefit from land [illegible] Rivalry between the "im[illegible] and socialist blocks forces [illegible] powers to give cre[illegible] the "intermediate régimes" [illegible] that big business [illegible] be reinstated. However, a [illegible] the system may come from [illegible] and urban paupers, for [illegible] Communist Parties are poten[illegible] hence the tendency [illegible] them. The defeat of [illegible] in 1965 is examined as a [illegible] case of this general model, [illegible] piece of practical [illegible] sociology from an outstanding economic theorist: New Left please copy.

History

JONES, R. ARNOLD (Compiler). *Members of Parliament for Andover, 1295-1885.* 58pp. Andover Local Archives Committee. Paperback, 30p.

Biographical detail concerning Andover's MPs, understandably sparse for those who attended the earliest parliaments, becomes progressively fuller when, after the lapse of centuries, the town began again to send its members to Westminster. Bearers of celebrated names appear: Temple, Sandys, Hyde (Clarendon's uncle), and Sir William Waller who got in as the result of a disputed election. R. Arnold Jones's résumé of Andover's electoral history is carried down to 1885 when the town ceased to be a separate constituency. He provides two lists of the Members, alphabetical and chronological.

KITSON, JILL. *The British to the Antipodes.* Volume 2 of *Great Emigrations.* 118pp. Gentry Books. £1.95.

One of a series of pioneering histories, this is a short popular narrative of the colonization of Australia which carries the story from the convict colony of Botany Bay and the lives of the early settlers, through the era of the gold diggings, down to the emergence of an Australian nation in the later years of the last century. A select reading list, maps, and an index are included.

STEPHENS, W. B. *Sources for English Local History.* 260pp. Manchester University Press. £3.60 (paperback, £1.80).

Reasonably priced by present-day standards, this book by the Senior Lecturer in Education at Leeds University should be well within the means of most students of local history for whom it is primarily intended. It is not a detailed bibliography but a general survey of the field which leads the local historian on from the *VCH* and printed town and regional histories to the discovery of the primary sources. The main emphasis is on the social and economic aspects of the subject. Such antiquarian studies as heraldry and genealogy, against which the author admits to having a prejudice, are excluded.

Horticulture

CRUSO, THALASSA: *Making Things Grow Outdoors.* 308pp. Michael Joseph. £4.

This is a practical book on the designing and care of a garden, where the stress is on gardening as a pleasure in itself rather than as the production of a showpiece. But in these days of labour shortage there are few who will need the admonition that "those who give their gardens over entirely to the care of others . . . are, I think, the losers". The writer, an Englishwoman long settled in the United States, bases the book on her own garden experience and the particular problems which faced her, but much of her advice is applicable, too, in this country.

Literature

The Bodley Head Bernard Shaw. Collected Plays with their Prefaces. Volume VI. 991pp. Bodley Head. £4.20.

With the publication of Volume Six, the Bodley Head edition of Shaw's plays comes near to completion. There remains only one volume, the plays of Shaw's dotage (in which, of course, Shaw remained more interesting than most men are in their prime). The current volume contains plays written in the 1920s and 1930s, from *Saint Joan* to *The Six of Calais*, and including the two "political extravaganzas", *The Apple Cart* and *Too True to be Good*, and the visionary *Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles*. As in the previous volumes of the edition, each play is accompanied by prefaces, notes by the author, press releases, and all the other outbursts by which Shaw publicized himself and, secondarily, his works. The edition continues as it began—handsome, scrupulously edited, copious, altogether admirable.

Many Shavians must now be wishing that the same loving attention might be given to Shaw's other writings, and the *Collected Plays* extended to *Collected Works*. There has never been a scholarly edition of either *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* or *The Perfect Wagnerite*, and *Music in London* and *Our Theatre in the Nineties* want re-editing, after more than forty years. One might even argue for the value of a complete edition of Shaw's Fabian Tracts. No one doubts that Shaw is the greatest English playwright after Shakespeare; does it not follow then that all of his substantial works should be treated as seriously as the plays?

Music

JUDD, F. C. *Electronics in Music.* 169pp. Neville Spearman. £3.15.

F. C. Judd's book will be small beer to the professional and largely incomprehensible to anyone who knows nothing about electronics. To the amateur enthusiast it will doubtless be useful in parts, because it covers quite a wide field in a practical way, making suggestions for the generation of sounds from sources ranging from pure sine waves to train whistles and taxi horns (bulb type), for the treatment of sounds with vibrato, ring modulation and so on, all illustrated with circuit diagrams. There are moderately detailed sections on the mechanisms of electronic organs and electric guitars, on synthesizers, tape recorders, hi-fi systems, noise reduction devices and other pieces of equipment. The book would appear to be written primarily for pop musicians, and for ice-rink organists curious about the technics by which they produce their sweet and sentimental sounds. There is one paragraph devoted to the serious composers of electronic music(?)—the parenthesized question mark is the author's and indicates his attitude. The use of computer synthesis, perhaps the least known and most exciting possibility in the electronic arts is, despite the computer writing on the cover, given no more than one elementary paragraph.

VAN LEEUWEN BOOMKAMP, C. and VAN DER MEER, J. H. *The Carel Van Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection of Musical Instruments.* 190pp including 112 illustrations. Amsterdam: Frits Knuf. 40fl.

The Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection consists of European instruments from the mid-seventeenth century to the present day, concentrating on strings, particularly bows, with keyboard and wind more sparsely represented. Himself a cellist, Mr Boomkamp believes that the sound of an old instrument is a consequence of certain structural details, and the descriptions of these in this catalogue, as well as the extensive information on construction and tuning, will certainly be of great interest to those making copies of old instruments. The book is impeccably produced by Enschedé of Haarlem, and is only disappointing in that the illustrations are not as sharply reproduced as they might be. Harp strings have been incorrectly drawn in, as have other strings elsewhere. This catalogue will be useful to makers and collectors; it is yet another sign of the growing interest in providing a technical basis for the re-creation of past musical styles.

Philately

BARNES, ROBERT. *The Postal Service of the Falkland Islands.* 96pp. Robson Lowe. Paperback, £3.

There have been previous books on Falkland Islands philately, but none has dealt so fully with the postal history of this British outpost. The opportunity to do so appeared to have been lost through the destruction of the Post Office records at Port Stanley by fire in 1944, but Robert Barnes has surmounted the obstacle by patient research among previously untapped sources to produce an account which reveals a great deal of new information and corrects some of the inaccuracies of previous writers.

LANKESTER, RONALD F. *China 1927-1949.* 80pp. Robson Lowe. £5.

The author is an Englishman who lived in China during the period covered by the book and collected the stamps as they were issued. His Chinese wife assisted in solving many of the problems involved in preparing this first comprehensive story of the independent issues which appeared in the several regions of Communist China. The valuable translations of the numerous Chinese overprints are here given to English philatelists for the first time. Ignored by many collectors as too complex to understand, the real postal necessity for these many issues, now demonstrated by Ronald F. Lankester, will ensure that they now engage the attention of the serious collector, especially as the official American ban on the mere collecting of the stamps has been removed. The many stamps which have hitherto been classed as

scarce will rapidly move into the rarity class as more students take them up.

Politics

NEWMAN, AUBREY (Editor). *The Parliamentary Lists of the Early Eighteenth Century: Their Compilation and Use.* 95pp. Leicester University Press. £2.20.

This book distils the wisdom of a scholarly colloquium sponsored by the University of Leicester in 1970 and guided by Professor J. H. Plumb. Controversy about the nature of politics in the reigns of William III and Queen Anne has raged for some years. The colloquium sought to illuminate the respective strength of parties or factions by considering the structure rather than the narrative of contemporary parliaments. The division lists are shown as vital documents in the structure of parliament since they seem to indicate that there was a hard core of Whigs and Tories who were committed party men. Although the evidence is too incomplete for a precise answer, tentative conclusions were propounded at the colloquium.

Science

JONES, R. V., and PATON, W. D. M. (Editors). *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London.* Volume 27, Number 2, February, 1973. 337pp. The Royal Society. Paperback, £1.25.

Material about the origins of the Royal Society can still be found, as is shown by Robert G. Frank's paper on John Aubrey, John Lydall and science in Commonwealth Oxford. The botanical works of Nehemiah Grew are studied by Jeanne Bolam. John and Edward Troughton, mathematical instrument makers, are the subject of a paper by A. W. Skempton and Joyce Brown. Paul A. Tunbridge gives an interesting account of Faraday's Genevese friends, especially the de la Rives. W. V. Farrar contributes a more detailed picture of Andrew Ure, philosopher of the Industrial Revolution, than will be gained from the footnotes to *Das Kapital*.

LOSEE, JOHN. *A Historical Introduction to the Philosophy of Science.* 218pp. Oxford University Press. £2.

Whether there can be a "philosophy of science" is itself a philosophical question of some interest. There is "natural philosophy", which is nothing but the natural sciences, and there is the study of the methods used by the natural philosophers in reaching their results. Though there may be some difficulty in saying what the philosophy of science is, we can all recognize it when we see it, and it is certainly recognizable in John Losee's useful book. This is a straightforward exposition of the views that have been held by various philosophers from Aristotle to Ayer, from Plato to Popper, about scientific method, the nature of scientific laws, the relation of experiment to theory, the place of hypotheses, the evaluation of competing theories, and like topics. The Greeks are represented not only by Plato and Aristotle but by Ptolemy, Euclid and Archimedes; they exhibit the deductive method of science supremely well and also the value of mathematical models for "saving appearances". Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham show that the spirit of inquiry was far from dead in the Middle Ages.

With Galileo, Francis Bacon, Descartes and Newton, Professor Losee ushers in the great formative period of modern science. His views on the cognitive status of scientific laws, the theory of scientific procedure, and the structure of scientific theories are enlivened by far-ranging and accurate scholarship, and so are his study of the rival claims made for inductivism as against the hypothetico-deductive school and his examination of logical positivism. He formally brings his book to an end in 1940, but with many a forward glance.

Social Studies

Christian Marriage in Africa. 185pp. SPCK. Paperback, 60p.

The future of Christianity in the independent states of Africa is uncertain. Among the difficulties faced by the churches is the view of marriage taken by the reformed legal systems. In the past when an African married under the English common law, he also accepted to an ill-defined degree the legal obligations of Christian marriage, whether he intended to do so or not. It took time for the conflict of indigenous custom and common law to be recognized as the source of some of the toughest problems lawyers have ever confronted. In these days when law reforms are in demand, the churches have to try to clear away some of their own confusions. They have had to ask themselves whether theology or sociology offers the better guide; or how to reconcile alternative approaches.

With courage the Anglican Archbishops of Cape Town, Central Africa, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda commissioned a report from the Reverend Adrian Hastings, a Roman Catholic priest; and this book embodies his report, together with ten informative appendixes. At the heart of the situation lies the question of polygamy. Fortunately, English law has been moving towards a more sympathetic acceptance of its consequences, a trend which the coming of Asian immigrants will support. Similarly Mr Hastings's argument discloses an anxiety not to reject polygamous marriages out of hand but to weigh their implications in different circumstances. If the author has perhaps not perceived the full complexity of his task, especially on its legal side, he has nevertheless opened up anew the field awaiting further inquiry. Surprisingly, he has not drawn all he might have done from the longer experience and deeper research that South Africa has produced.

Witchcraft

VALIENTE, DOREEN. *An ABC of Witchcraft Past and Present.* 377pp. Hale. £3.50.

The author represents the revival of (white) witchcraft as an advance towards "a new society of which a regenerated and enlightened paganism is to be part". She sees its adherents worshipping "the male and female aspects of nature personified as the Horned God and the Moon Goddess" rather as Rousseau saw the Noble Savage, and with as little knowledge of anthropology. Thus, she appears to assume that primitive communities and religions favoured promiscuous, universal "uninhibited sexual enjoyment", both in itself and as an encouragement to the earth's fertility; whereas most such groups have very careful rules and taboos in this connexion. The book sets out in alphabetical order a number of items, among them not only magical alphabets and occult numbers, but also some interesting information on the herbs traditionally used by witches, anecdotes about witch beliefs in our own time, a survey of ritual murders, duly condemned, and tributes to Charles Leland, Gerald Gardner, Margaret Murray and Mother Shipton. There is an impression of the over-sophisticated seeking relaxation in a back-to nature formula which does not correspond very closely with nature itself.

World Affairs

GUPTA, MANMATHNATH. *History of the Indian Revolutionary Movement.* 258pp. Bombay: Somaiya Publications. Rs30 (paperback, Rs18).

This is a revised and enlarged English version of Manmathnath Gupta's Hindi *Bharatiya Krantikari Andolan ka Itihas*, banned by the British Raj but circulated in a number of underground editions between 1939 and 1947. After India became independent, the ban was withdrawn, and six successive editions appeared. The story is an unusual one; while there are many instances of violent revolutionaries being won over to the cult of non-violence by the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, a few of his followers abandoned his creed to become active revolutionaries. Among the most prominent of the latter was the author; and his narrative is the best guide to the principles and practices of the Indian revolutionaries which ... appeared in English. ... sophies ranged from ... ism to outright anarchism ... but they shared a passionate ... tion that only the bomb ... revolver held the key to ... dom from British rule. ... conviction remains ... shaken, and he firmly ... it was the revolutionary ... culminating in the creation ... Indian National Army ... Chandra Bose, that won ... India. He bitterly ... Congress leaders for ... hearted support of the ... in particular, for ... back the mutinied ... Navy. The weakness of ... is obvious. The Congress ... were determined to ... shoes of the British and ... the country as a going ... could not afford to permit ... to be sabotaged by ... elements, no matter ... motivated. When once in ... they dealt as firmly with ... versive side of the nationalist ... ment as the British had ... did so far more ... because they could rely on ... support. In spite of the ... passionate pleas, the fact ... that the revolutionary ... a very minor factor in ... British decision to terminate ... rule in India.

Paper-backs

Art
Jean Lipman: *American Primitive Painting.* (Dover. £2.)

Biography and Memoirs
Wilfrid Blunt: *The Dream King.* (Penguin. £2.)

Drama
Thomas Middleton: *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside.* Edited by R. B. Parker. Robert Greene: *James the Fourth.* Edited by Norman Sanders. (University. £1.20 each.) Frank Wedekind: *The Lulu Plays and Other Sex Tragedies.* Translated by Stephen Spender. (Calder and Boyars. £1.50.)

Fiction
Bob Dylan: *Tarantula.* (Panther. 35p.) Elaine Feinstein: *The Circle.* (Penguin. 25p.) Wallace Graves: *Trixie.* (Penguin. 40p.) Shirley Hazzard: *The Bay of Noon.* (Penguin. 30p.) Derek Marlow: *A Single Summer with L.B.* (35p.) *Echoes of Celandine.* (25p. Penguin.) Iris Murdoch: *An Accidental Man.* (Penguin. 50p.) Anaïs Nin: *A Spy in the House of Love.* (Penguin. 25p.) Sean O'Faolain: *The Talking Trees and other stories.* (Penguin. 30p.) Dolores Pala: *In Search of Mihailo.* (Penguin. 30p.) Jean Rhys: *Quartet.* (25p.) *Tigers are Better Looking.* (35p. Penguin.) Paul Scott: *The Chinese Love Pavilion.* (Panther. 50p.) Wilfrid Sheed: *The Blacking Factory and Pennsylvania Gothic.* (30p.) *The Critic.* (35p. Penguin.) Colin Spencer: *Panic.* (Panther. 35p.) Thomas Tryon: *The Other.* (Penguin. 30p.) Gore Vidal: *Messiah.* (Panther. 40p.) Kurt Vonnegut: *Cat's Cradle.* (Penguin. 30p.)

History
C. R. Boxer: *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800.* (Penguin. 70p.) Leo Deuel: *Flights into Yesterday.* (Penguin. 80p.) J. F. C. Harrison: *The Early Victorians 1832-51.* (Panther. 75p.) Edward Norman: *A History of Modern Ireland.* (Penguin. 60p.) John Toland: *The Great Dirigibles.* (Dover. £1.50.)

Literature and Criticism
The Collected Poems of James Agee. The Collected Short Prose of James Agee. Edited by Robert Fitzgerald. (Calder and Boyars. £1.25 each.) John Fairfax (Editor): *Frontier of Going: An Anthology of Space Poetry.* (Panther. 35p.) U. C. Knoepflmacher: *Laughter and Despair.* (University of California Press. £1.35.)

Philosophy and Religion
Peter Gay: *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation.* Volume ... *Rise of Modern Paganism.* ... Volume 2: *The Science of* ... (£1.95. Wildwood House.) ... Norwich: *Revelations of* ... *Love.* Translated and edited ... ton Wolters. (Penguin. ...) Sorel: *The Illusions of* ... Translated by John and ... Stanley. (University of C... Press. £1.50.)

Politics
Hannah Arendt: *Crises of ...* ... *public.* (Penguin. 40p) ... Larkin: *China and Africa* ... (University of California ... £1.50.)

Social Studies
Gordon Borrie and A... Diamond: *The Consumer ...* *and the Law.* (Penguin ...) Mehta: *Portrait of India.* ... 80p.) Lewis Mumford: *The ...* *History.* (Penguin. £1.60) ... Pressat: *Population.* (Penguin ...) Richard Sennett: *The Uses of Disorder.* (Penguin. 35p.) ... Uphoff and Warren F. Ilchman (Editors): *The Political Economy of Development.* (University of ... Press. £2.25.) Stephen ... (Editor): *Intelligence* ... (Penguin. 85p.)

Sports and Pastimes
Alan Blackshaw: *Mountaineering.* (Penguin. £1.50.) Marion ... and Ronald Duncan (Editors): *Penguin Book of ...* *Songs.* (Penguin. 75p.)

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This advertisement is issued with the agreement of the Local Government Staff Commission for England.
G. R. Cottam, Town Clerk and Chief Executive Officer.

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Application forms obtainable from the Director of Libraries, Arts and Entertainments, Central Library, Cecil Road, Enfield EN2 6TW (01-366 2244), returnable by the 11th May, 1973. Please quote Ref. SAL/51.

West Lothian County Council

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A. SINCLAIR,
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Preference will be given to one who is fully prepared to work as a member of a team, as the teaching is mainly in the form of seminars; and to take part in the running of the department.

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